

Stoughton

THE
L I F E
O F
GEORGE VILLIERS,
Duke of BUCKINGHAM,
Who was stabb'd by *Felton*, *August 23. 1628.*

THE LIFE

OF GEORGE



Duke of BUCKINGHAM

Who was killed by James O'Connell, 1828.

T H E
L I F E
O F
GEORGE VILLIERS,
Duke of BUCKINGHAM,

(Prime MINISTER to King JAMES
and King CHARLES the First,)

Who was stabb'd by *Felton*, *August 23. 1628.*

CONTAINING

- I. His DESCENT, RISE, and MALE-ADMINISTRATION ; with his IMPEACHMENT, and the Proceedings in the several Parliaments against him ; particularly for his PLURALITY of OFFICES ; his Neglect of guarding the Seas ; his exhausting the REVENUES of the Crown ; his extorting 10,000*l.* from the *East-India* Company, &c. With the two famous Speeches of Sir DUDLY DIGGS, and Sir JOHN ELLIOT, for which they were, by the King's Command, sent to the Tower.
- II. The Speeches, Arguments, &c. of Sir EDWARD COKE, Mr. SELDEN, Sir FRANCIS SEYMOUR, and others, with the Duke's Artifices to SCREEN himself from the Impeachment of the COMMONS.
- III. The unbounded Power of this VORACIOUS MINISTER, proved to be the Cause of the Overthrow of the Church and Monarchy of *England*, by the Grand Rebellion.
- IV. The Particulars of his Assassination ; with the Judges Arguments concerning the Manner of the Execution of *Felton*.

L O N D O N :

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THE

GEORGE WILLIAMS

DEACON OF BUCKINGHAM

(Being a History of the

and King Charles the First

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.



THE following Life, containing so many remarkable Incidents, I was prevailed on to publish, at the Request of several Gentlemen who had perused it in Manuscript ; but for what Reason I know not, the Publication was artfully stifled ; however, I have again adventured to convey it to the Publick. In the compiling of these Memoirs, I have endeavoured to avoid Prolixity, and closely trac'd this FAVOURITE from his Extraction, through his Preferment, to the fatal Catastrophe of his Death, by that Enthusiast *Felton*, from the Records, with the utmost Impartiality. The Reader, in this Review, will perceive the Height of Bigottry and Despotick Government in his first Master, K. JAMES, and as *boundless Ambition* in this PRIME MINISTER, who from nothing was made Sovereign of the People :
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He will find the Nation groaning under the Weight of his *Administration*, and the King *Supporting* and *Protecting* him in it. In the Reign of K. *Charles I.* (who, if possible, exceeded his Father in his Bigottry to him,) he will find the Nation in a Flame; Complaints from all Parts of the Kingdom against him, especially the *Sea-bordering Parts*, for suffering our *Ships* and *Goods* to be taken, and the *Subjects* of *this Kingdom* to be led into *barbarous Captivity*, to the Shame and Hindrance of COMMERCE, thro' his not guarding our Coasts; his *embargoing* our *Merchants Goods*, and suffering every Nation, tho' never so contemptible, on the least *Pretences*, to *contemn* and *sight us*. His oppressing our *Merchants*, by extorting Money from them; embezzelling Sums of the King's Money, under Pretence of SECRET SERVICES for the State, and for furnishing and victualling the *Royal Navy*, and then securing to himself several Releases from the King for divers great Sums of Money by him *privately received* for his own Use, &c. and yet all these *just Complaints* could obtain no Redress: A KING *protecting him*, in Opposition to the whole KINGDOM; the Parliament impeaching him, and the King dissolving Parliament after Parliament to SCREEN him from their just Resentment. All the Remonstrances against him from the Commons had no Effect; he was still Entrusted, and had the sole Command both of our *Fleets* and
Ar-

Armies; and this *Jure Divino* Monarch lifted him up with *New Preferments*, to trample on the Necks of an *oppress'd, injur'd People*. All Places of Trust in his *own* and his *Creatures* Hands; and indeed all *Law* and *Justice* might well be said to be distributed by himself, and a Nation lying at Stake, to gratify his *Avarice* and *Ambition*.

I have avoided as much as possible entering into his private Life, that I might not exceed the Number of Sheets intended, and have therefore traced him only thro' his *Publick Character*, as PRIME MINISTER OF STATE. His *Over-bearing Power*, and his *despotick, pernicious Counsels* had so fatal an Effect, and was so deeply imprinted in the Minds of the People, that notwithstanding his being murdered by the before-mentioned *Felton*, the House of Commons still pursued their *Complaints of Grievances* against those *destructive Schemes* concerted by the Duke, and after his Death carried on by his *Creatures*, which rendered us so *contemptible* Abroad, and *uneasy* at Home; which *Complaints of Grievances* made that unhappy King bear such Antipathy to Parliaments, that he called no other, from the Year 1628 to 1640, during which Space of twelve Years, so many fresh *Complaints* were enumerated, by several *Incendiaries, Enemies to Monarchy*, that when the King's unhappy Situation of Affairs obliged him to call a Parliament, those *Grievances*

vances were so ripen'd, that they soon burst out in a Flame against him, the impetuous Torrent of which that unfortunate Monarch was not able to stem ; so that it may truly be said, The King's persevering so tenaciously in the SCREENING this OVERBEARING MINISTER, from the just Resentments of an *injur'd People*, and by his not having Recourse to Parliaments, according to antient Usage, to redress the before-mentioned Grievances, was, in a great Measure, the Cause which produced the Effect of the Death of that unhappy Monarch.



(3)

T H E

F A T E

O F

FAVOURITES, &c.

TO give the Reader a more perfect Idea of the Rise of the *Duke of Buckingham*, the Subject of the following Sheets, it will be necessary to observe the sudden Rise and Downfall of his Predecessor, the Earl of *Somerset*; who, from a private Gentleman (*Robert Carr*) born at *Edinburgh*, and on his Return from *France*, going to Court to wait on the Lord *Hay*, to whom he was recommended for Preferment; the said Lord immediately imagined his Countryman a proper Person to attract the King's Affection, being a young Man about twenty Years of Age, a comely Personage, mix'd with a handsome and courtly Garb, which he had been practising in *France* *, and therefore he resolved to show him at Court, and surprize the King with this new Object. The King accordingly taking a Fancy to him, made him a Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and finding in him no depth of Learning, his Majesty himself taught him the Latin Tongue.

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* *Wilson's Life of King James.*

As his Majesty had no Bounds in aggrandizing his Favourites, so no Suit or Reward, could come, but thro' this *Upstart*; it is his Hand distributes, and it is his Hand restrains. No Lord can scarce have a Smile without him; and the King soon loaded him with Honours; the Place of Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*, vacant by the Death of the Earl of *Dunbar*, was given him, and soon after he was created Baron *Brandspeck*, Viscount *Rochester*, and Knight of the Garter; and being thus held up by the Chin, in the Glories of the Court, (Prince *Henry* the King's eldest Son, who always opposed him with the King) and the Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, (another Obstacle) being both dead, he took full Possession of the King's Favours alone, executing likewise the Place of Secretary of State; receiving and dispatching all Answers without the Knowledge of the King and Council *. He was *Nov. 4. 1613.* created Earl of *Somerset*, and *Dec. 5.* following, He was married to the Countess of *Essex*, (who was just divorced from her Husband.) She being a fit Gift for a King to bestow †. Such splendid Equipages and magnificent Preparations, for the Wedding, having never till then been seen; no, not at any Marriage of a Prince of the Blood.

The City of *London* and Court at *Whitehall*, endeavoured to excell each other, in complimenting the Man whom the King chused to honour: A magnificent Feast was prepared for them and the rest of the Court, at Merchant Taylor's-Hall, which vyed with *Whiteball*

ball for Glory: They all riding thro' the City on Horseback, in the Evening; the Men attending the Bridegroom, and the Women the Bride, adorned with such rich Trappings, and so bespangled with Jewels, That the Torches, &c. added but little Light to the Spectators.

But this new Favourite having the entire Possession of the King's Heart, caused a Jealousie in the Queen herself, and she continued the same Spirit of Resentment against him, that her Son had, which probably might be aggravated from the Rumour of the Cause of the Prince's Death, by Poison, which *Somerſet* was suspected of; And the more effectually to accomplish his Ruin, she secured to her Interest, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who had the Title only of Secretary of State, the Earl of *Somerſet* having the Management of every Thing, which made him ready enough to oblige her Majesty, *Somerſet* grasping all publick Employments into his own Hands, not caring whom he disoblig'd; for like a *Coloss*, he stood the brunt of all the Tempests of Envy, and would suffer no Place in Court, or Dignity in State to be disposed of, but by his Directions.

His Ambition, Covetuousness, and Contempt of the *English* Nobility, drew on him the Hatred of most of them, especially the Families of *Herbert*, *Hertford*, and *Bedford*, who had several Meetings to concert his Ruin; and they knowing the King's Inclination, sent for our young Favourite, (*George Villiers*, who was of an ancient Family in *Leicestershire*, Son of Sir *George Villiers* of *Brokesby*, by a second Wife, (*Mary Beaumont*) of noble Extraction,

but small Fortune, who bore him three Sons, this *George* being the second, born, *Anno* 1592. * After the Death of Sir *George*, his Widow married Sir *Thomas Compton*, Brother to the Lord *Compton*, who being rich, enabled his Mother to give him a liberal Education, and of which she took great Care; and after he had finished his Studies here, she sent him into *France*, where he became a good proficient in the *French* Tongue, and all other genteel Qualifications, especially dancing, wherein he excelled: When he returned from his Travels, having only the Breeding and Portion of a younger Brother, and with the Mother's Assistance got the Addition of a *French* Garb, † brought him to the Court in no greater Condition than fifty Pound a Year is able to maintain, to endeavour to procure himself Friends and a Place, As he was a Gentleman of fine Shape and admirable Address, so it was at his first appearing there, (1616.) that the Noblemen beforementioned, who resolved to bring about the Destruction of *Somerset*, fancied this young Man might be subservient to their Designs; They knew the King sufficiently, to hope he would be taken by this New-comer ‖. And to this End they liberally supplied him wherewith to deck himself and attract the King's Eyes. And their Project succeeded to their Expectation. § The King being at the Play looked with Admiration on *George Villiers*, (who was on Purpose) placed directly in his View, and he could not help then showing some Signs of his growing Inclination for him: But as he

● *Annals K. James.* † *Wilson.* ‖ *Weldon.*
 § *Rapin Hist. K. J. fol. 187.*

he did not care to expose him to so much hazard as the Malice of a jealous Competitor, he therefore took care to conceal it from *Somerſet* as much as poſſible; but being reſolved to have *Villiers* near his Perſon, he, from that Inſtant inſtructed ſome of his Conſidants to bring him in by Degrees, imagining he might keep both Favourites; and therefore *Villiers* was directed to purchaſe a Cup-bearers Place at large, knowing the Place to be at too great a diſtance from *Somerſet's*, to have any mark of Favour for *Suſpicion* or *Jealouſy*, to level at*.

Notwithſtanding all the King's Care to conceal his Inclination for this blooming Courtier, yet *Somerſet* was not eaſily to be deceived: And as he was Lord Chamberlain his Office gave him great Power over the King's Servants, ſo he ſeldom wanted Opportunity to mortify *Villiers*, which he bore with Patience, and the King feigned not to perceive it; but an Accident ſoon happened, which prevented the King's diſſembling any longer; for *Villiers* having bought the place of Cup-bearer, it was cuſtomary during his Month's waiting to ſit at the upper End of the Table, but ſitting in the ſame place after the Expiration of his Month, the other, whoſe turn it was, being *Somerſet's* Creature, thruſt him rudely from thence, which put him in ſome Confuſion; and a few Days after, the ſame Cup-Bearer carrying a Glaſs of Wine to the King, he let it fall accidental, or on purpoſe, on *Villiers*, who gave him a Box on the Ear; for which the Cuſtom of the Court condemned him to

have his Right Hand cut off: And which, *Somerset*, as Lord Chamberlain, ought to prosecute the Execution of, which he did with Vigour: But the King granted *Villiers* a Pardon, without enjoyning any Satisfaction to the offended Party; which gave sufficient Cause for *Somerset* to suspect him a *Budding Favourite*; and who was, indeed raised on *Somerset's* Ruin.

That the Reader may have a more compleat View of the Rise of this great Man, I shall give it from a curious Narrative of *Abbot*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which Bishop *Hacket*, in his Life of Archbishop *Williams* attests, to his own Knowledge, was written by *Abbot's* own Hand: The Stile is so peculiar, and the Connexion such, that I shall not alter a Syllable.

“ I draw to a Conclusion; (says he) only
 “ repute it not amiss, because so much fall-
 “ eth in here, to observe a few Words of the
 “ Duke of *Buckingham*, not as he is, but as
 “ he was in his rising. I say nothing of his
 “ being in *France*, because I was not present,
 “ and divers others there be that remember it
 “ well. But I take him at his first repair to
 “ Court. King *James*, for many Insolencies, grew
 “ weary of *Somerset*, and the Kingdom groan-
 “ ing under the Triumvirate of *Northampton*,
 “ *Suffolk*, and *SOMERSET*, (tho' *Northampton*
 “ soon after died) was glad to be rid of him.
 “ We could have no way so good to effec-
 “ tuate that which was the common Desire,
 “ as to bring in another in his Room, one
 “ Nail (as the Proverb is) being to be driven
 out

“ out by another. It was now observed, that
 “ the King began to cast his Eye upon *George*
 “ *Villiers*, who was then Cup-bearer, and seem-
 “ ed a modest courteous Youth. But King
 “ *James* had a Fashion that he would never
 “ admit any to nearness about himself, but
 “ such an one as the Queen should recommend
 “ unto him, and make some Suit in his
 “ Behalf, That if the Queen afterwards should
 “ be ill treated, and complain of this *Dear*
 “ *One*, he might make his Answer; *It is*
 “ *along with your self, for you were the Party*
 “ *that commended him unto me.* Our old Ma-
 “ ster took delight strangely in Things of
 “ this Nature.

“ That noble Queen (who now resteth in Hea-
 “ ven) knew her Husband well; and having
 “ been bitten with Favourites, both in *England*
 “ and *Scotland*, was very shy to adventure upon
 “ this Request. King *James*, in the mean time,
 “ more and more loathed SOMERSET, and did
 “ not much conceal it, that his Affection in-
 “ creased towards the other. But the Queen
 “ would not come into it, albeit, divers Lords
 “ (whereof some are dead, and some yet liv-
 “ ing) did earnestly sollicit her Majesty there-
 “ unto: When it would not do, I was very
 “ much moved to put to my helping Hand, they
 “ knowing, That Queen *Anne*, was graciously
 “ pleased to give me more Credit than ordi-
 “ nary, which all her Attendants knew she
 “ continued till the Time of her Death. I
 “ laboured much, but could not prevail, the
 “ Queen oft saying to me, *My Lord, you*
 “ *and the rest of your Friends, know not what*
 “ *to do: I know your Master better than you*
 “ all,

“ all, for if this young Man be once brought in,
 “ the first Persons that he will plague, must be you
 “ that labour for him; yea I shall have my Part
 “ also: The King will teach him to despise, and
 “ hardly intreat us all, that he may seem to be
 “ beholden to none but himself.——Noble Queen!
 “ how like a Prophetess, or Oracle, did you
 “ speak!

“ Notwithstanding this, we were still In-
 “ stant, telling her Majesty, that the Change
 “ would be for the better: For GEORGE was a
 “ good Nature, which the other was not; and
 “ if he should degenerate, yet it would be a
 “ long time before he were able to attain to that
 “ height of Evil, which the other had. In the
 “ End, upon Importunity, Queen Anne conde-
 “ scended, and so pressed it with the King, that
 “ he assented thereunto: Which was so stricken
 “ while the Iron was hot, that in the Queen’s
 “ Bed-Chamber, the King Knighted him with
 “ the Rapier which the Prince did wear. And
 “ when the King gave Orders to swear him of
 “ the Bed-Chamber, Somerset, who was near,
 “ importuned the King with a Message, that
 “ he might be only sworn a Groom: But my self,
 “ and others, that were at the Door, sent to
 “ her Majesty, that she would perfect her
 “ Work, and cause him to be sworn a Gen-
 “ tleman of the Chamber. There is a Lord
 “ or two living that had a Hand in this At-
 “ chievement; I diminish nothing of their
 “ Praise for so happy a Work: But I know
 “ my own part best, and upon the Word of
 “ an honest Man, I have reported nothing
 “ but Truth. GEORGE went in with the
 “ King; but no sooner he got loose, but he
 “ came

“ came forth unto me in the Privy-Gallery,
 “ and there embraced me: he professed he
 “ was so infinitely bound unto me, that all his
 “ Life long he must honour me as his Father:
 “ And now he did beseech me, that I would
 “ give him some Lessons how he should carry
 “ himself. When he earnestly followed this
 “ Chace, I told him. I would give him three
 “ short Lessons, if he would learn them. The
 “ first was, That daily upon his Knees he
 “ should pray to God to bless the King, his
 “ Master, and to give him (*George*) Grace stu-
 “ diously to serve, and please him. The se-
 “ cond was, That he should do all good Offi-
 “ ces between the King and the Queen, and
 “ between the King and the Prince. The
 “ third was, That he should fill his Master’s
 “ Ears with nothing but Truth. I made him
 “ repeat these three Things unto me, and
 “ then I would have him to acquaint the King
 “ with them, and so tell me when I met him
 “ again, what the King said unto him. He
 “ promised me he would ; and the Morrow
 “ after, *Mr. Thomas Murrey*, the Princes Tutor,
 “ and I, standing together in the Gallery at
 “ *Whitehall*, *Sir George Villiers* coming forth,
 “ and drawing to us, he told *Mr. Murrey* how
 “ much he was beholden unto me, and that I
 “ had given him certain Instructions, which
 “ I prayed him to rehearse, as indifferently
 “ well he did before us ; yea, and that he
 “ acquainted the King with them, who said,
 “ they were Instructions worthy of an Arch-
 “ bishop to give to a young Man. His Coun-
 “ tenance of Thankfulness, for a few days, con-
 “ tinued, but not long, either to me, or any
 “ others

“ others, his Well-wishers. The *Roman Hi-*
 “ storian *Tacitus*, somewhere notes, That Be-
 “ nefits while they may be requited seem
 “ Courtesies, but when they are so high that
 “ they cannot be repaid, they prove Matters
 “ of Hatred. And when Favours came to
 “ be heaped on him, he could endure no
 “ Man that would not depend upon him;
 “ among other Men, he had me in his Eye,
 “ for not stooping to him, so as to become
 “ his Vassal. His Undertakings was so extra-
 “ ordinary, that every one that was not with
 “ him, was presently against him; and if a
 “ hard Opinion was once entertained, there
 “ was no Place left for Satisfaction or Recon-
 “ ciliation.

But to return; King *James*, who was al-
 ways fond of exerting his Power, and parti-
 cularly to shew that he could raise *Villiers* from
 nothing, and his Will to advance him for
 nothing, tho' others envied him, yet his Af-
 fection was sufficient to hold up his Head.

To speak of his Advancement by Degrees
 were to lessen the King's Love*; Titles being
 heaped on him, that they came rather like
Showers than *Drops*; for as soon as *Somer-*
set declined

* The King tries in vain to reconcile his two Favou-
 rites, for as he was resolved to raise *Villiers*, so he could
 not bear the Thoughts of crushing *Somer-*
set; and therefore
 proposes the following Expedient, That *Villiers* should wait
 on the Earl of *Somer-*
set, and desire his Favour and Protection,
 and that he desired to be his Servant and Creature, but
Somer-
set replied, he would have none of his Service, and
 (says he) *I will, if I can, break your Neck, and of that be*
confident; this laid the King under a Difficulty, but the
 Murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury* in the Tower, being
 found

clined he mounted. Knighthood and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, were the first Sprinklings; and in *January* Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter. In *August* 1616, Baron of *Whaddon* and *Viscount Villiers*, and the beginning of the next Year, Earl of *Buckingham*, and Admiral of *England*: Chief Justice in *Eyre*, Master of the *King's Bench* Office, High Steward of *Westminster*, Constable of *Windsor Castle*; Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*; and the greatest and last was, Earl of *Coventry* and Duke of *Buckingham*, sent him by Patent into *Spain* while there with Prince *Charles**. I have thought proper to emblazon him with all these Titles, which in a few Years were bestowed on him by his indulgent Master King *James*, that the Reader might distinguish them at one view.

The Court being now in Tranquility, and no Parliaments to disturb, or check the Views of King or Favourite, nothing material was transacted at Court for some Years, except attempts to advance the Prerogative Royal, and raise Monies without Parliament: The King seldom concerned himself in any foreign Affairs, but left the Government of his Kingdom to his Ministers. The Earl of *Buckingham* was chief Manager; every one paid Tribute to his Smiles; he disposed of all Places and Preferments, both in Church and State, in an absolute manner: And what may not he have*, that is not only Master of the King's Horse

found out soon after, and *Somerset* and his *Countess* condemned with the rest of their Accomplices for the said Murder; put an end to the Dispute between the two Favourites, and *Villiers* engrossed the King's Affections without a Rival.

* *Annals*.

* *Wilson's Life K. James*. p. 104.

Horfe, and his Ships, but his Heart also †? Some Authors report, that he gave nothing without Money, or a yearly Pension §. The King whose Profusion to his Favourites always kept him necessitous, and his chief Favourite having so numerous a Kindred of his own to be maintained and enriched, all flocking to Court to partake of his Grandeur, numberless were the Ways contrived to raise Monies, by selling Places, Patents and Monopolies of divers kinds, as well as Titles of Honour; and large were the Places and Pensions assigned for the support of the new Titles enjoyed by his Kindred, viz. his elder Brother *John*, created *Viscount Purbeck*, his younger Brother, *Christopher*, made Earl of *Anglesey*, his Sister *Susan*, Countess of *Denbigh*; and his Mother, tho' a Papist, created Countess of *Buckingham*, in her own Right. Happy is he that can get a Kinswoman of this Favourite, it is the next way to a thriving Office, or some new swelling Title*. The King (says he) that never much cared for Women, had his Court swarming with the Marquess's Kindred, so, that little Ones would dance up and down the *Privy-Lodgings* like *Fairies*.

The Marquess who delighted chiefly in Pleasures, let his Mother, the Countess, share in the Disposal of all Offices in Church and State, and being extremely greedy of Money, none were preferr'd but those who were able to make large Presents; and several who had given large Sums for Places, were displaced in less than a Year, to make room for others, especially

† *Wilson.*
* *Wilson.*

§ *Weldon.*

cially Sir *Henry Montague*, who had given twenty thousand Pounds for the Place of Lord Treasurer, was displaced before the Expiration of a Year, and Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, afterwards Earl of *Middlesex*, who had been bred up a Custom House Officer, was put in his Place; having been recommended to the Court as a *Projector*.

This Year 1620, the Marquess married a rich Heiress Daughter to the Earl of *Rutland*, after (as it was reported) he had debauched her*.

And now, after a seven Years disuse of Parliaments, there appeared a necessity of calling one, as well to lay before them the deplorable Circumstances of the King's Son and Daughter, (the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, by their late overthrow at *Prague*, the loss of the Palatinate †, and the Dissolution of the Union among the Protestant Princes, as to consult with them about a Treaty of Marriage between his Son Prince *Charles*, and the Infanta of *Spain*, hoping by this Match to facilitate the Recovery of the Palatinate for his Children: *Spain* affecting to be very earnest for it. Accordingly it was agreed in Council, (notwithstanding the King's being jealous of uncontrouled

* *Wilson*.

† Sir *Henry Wotton*, whose Abilities were too conspicuous to need enlarging on in this narrow Compass, especially by his being so often employed in Embassies to the several Princes and States of the Empire, was now sent Ambassador to the Emperor, and to the Duke of *Lovain*, the Arch-duke *Leopold* the Community of *Strasburgh*, the Dukes of *Wirtemburgh* and *Bavaria* with a discretionary Commission and treat about restoring the Palatinate, but without Success from any of them.

uncontrouled Sovereignty, and impatient of his People's intermeddling with the Mysteries of State, which was the Cause of his having fallen into so great a dislike of Parliaments) that a Parliament should be summon'd to meet Jan. 30. 1620. at the opening of which Parliament the King made a long Speech, " setting forth
 " the miserable State of *Europe*, as above-
 " mentioned, especially in relation to his Chil-
 " dren; observed his extraordinary Frugality,
 " and laid before them his sundry Disburse-
 " ments, and Savings in his Household. And
 " notwithstanding which (says he) my Necessi-
 " ties are so great, *That I find my Revenues (like*
 " *Job's Friends) forsaking me.*" And concludes with great Encomiums on the Frugality and Integrity of his young favourite Admiral, (as he calls him) the Marquess.

But such Neglect of Parliaments, had given so great Encouragement to those, who delighted in sporting with the Liberties and Properties of the People, that they had procured divers Patents, &c. from the Crown, to enable them to squeeze every one they could, under Shadow of the Laws, and Wings of their Patents; and our Records inform us, they had made the best Use of their Time, well knowing they were secure from a Legislative Enquiry, whom they knew to be the only Power that could probe such dangerous Wounds to the Bottom, and prevent a Mortification in the State; and indeed, had not the Causes mentioned, render'd a Parliament absolutely necessary to advise with, they might, for Years longer, have carried on their Traffick, at the Expence of the People's Fortunes; For a very

learned Historian observes *, “ That this Parliament, whose bearing was dutiful to the King, was quick and minatory against some vile Persons, who had spoiled the People by *illegal Oppressions*. These were *Canker-Worms, Harpies, PROJECTORS*, who between the *Easiness* of the Lord *Marquess*, to procure, and the Willingness of the Lord Chancellor *BACON* to comply, had obtained Patent Commissions for *Latent Knaveries*; which Exorbitances being countenanced in the *Court*, were grown too strong for any Justice, but the *Parliament's*, to root them up. There the Appeals of the vexed Subjects were heard, more like to Out-cries than Complaints, which fell thick upon Sir *Giles Mompesson*, and Sir *Francis Michell*. For Fines and Levies raised upon Inns and Alehouses; Arbitrary Impositions, and a Precedent dangerous to spread even to Shops and Warehouses. Others remonstrated against a pack of Cheaters, who procured the Monopoly of Gold Thread, which with their spinning was palpably corrupted and debased. These Gilt Flies were the bolder, because Sir *Edward Villiers*, half Brother to the Lord *Marquess*, was in their Indenture of Association, tho' not named in the Patent, &c.

These Patents, from whence flowed such Varieties of Oppression, became so notorious, That King *James*, finding the Commons would know how these Persons obtained their Patents, whilst the Lords were forming their Procefs, grew very uneasy, apprehending the Odium

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would

* Bishop *Hacket* in his Life of Archbishop *Williams*.

would fall upon himself, or Favourite; to prevent which, he came to the House of Lords, and made a Speech full of affectionate Expressions. " And says, * he's ashamed to " consider, and it made his Hair stand up- " right to see how his People had been vexed " and polled by the vile Execution of Pro- " jects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, &c. " which have more exhausted his Subject's " Purfes, than Subsidies would have done : " Desires they would prosecute with Vigour " the Projectors, and Informers, and he would " revoke all those Patents." He apologizes for the Marquess of *Buckingham*, insinuating his Aversions to those Patents; and desires that they would not hearken to those who should accuse the Innocent as well as the Guilty, being fearful the House would attack him, he being reckoned the chief Promoter of those Monopolies.

It was plain some great Men were concerned in obtaining and sharing the Profits of those Grants, and tried to drop the Enquiry, or get the Parliament dissolv'd to prevent it, but the House were vigorous in the Pursuit of those Plunderers, and found Sir *Giles Mompesson*, and Sir *Francis + Michel*, were the chief Agents in those oppressive Projects, and who moved all

* *Annals K. James I.*

† A poor sneaking Justice that lived among the Brothels near *Clarkowell*; whose Clark and he pick'd a livelyhood out of those Corners, giving Warrants for what they did, besides Anniversary Stipends (the frequent Revenue of some Justices of those Times) for Connivancy. [This Justice] was brought to Court, Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters Patents, whereby he took Liberty of being more ravenous

all the Under-wheels: They were accordingly degraded, fin'd one thousand Pound, and imprisoned in *Finsbury Fields*; to be led thro' the City, with Papers on their Breast and Back, denoting their Crimes, to suffer the Scorn and Contempt of those they had injured.

This Sentence was executed on the *Old Justice*, Sir *Francis Michel*; But Sir *Giles Mompeffon*, *Buckingham's* Creature, escaped beyond Sea, by the means of the *Marquess* * *who was supposed to have a feeling with these Extortioners, having been so very active in procuring the Patents.*

And lest I should be thought to suppose any Thing against the *Marquess*, without sufficient Authority; I shall give you an Extract of what Archbishop *Williams*, (who had been just created Lord Keeper,) wrote to the *Marquess*, who was most apprehensive of having these Grievances of the People ript up, and laid open *. He told his Lordship, " That the
 " Parliament in all it had hitherto undertaken,
 " deserved Praise, for their dutiful Demeanor
 " to the King, and Justice to the People;
 " There is no Colour, (says he) to quarrel
 " at this general Assembly of the Kingdom,
 " for tracing Delinquents to their Form; for
 " it is their proper Work, &c. But your
 " Lordship

venous upon poor People, to the grating of the *Bones*, and sucking out the very *Marrow* of their Substance. *Wilson*, p. 155.

* The same Author says, p. 158. That all the World knew *Mompesson* was *Buckingham's* Creature, and that notwithstanding the King's Proclamation for his Interception, he got out of the Kingdom by his Key. That he ruled Lord Paramount; those who complied with him found *Refuge*; but those who opposed him, as much *Mischief* as *Malice* could pour upon them.

“ Lordship is jealous, if the Parliament con-
 “ tinue imbodyed in this Vigour, of your own
 “ Safety, or at least of your Reputation; lest
 “ your Name should be used and brought to
 “ the Bandy. But if you assist to break up
 “ this Parliament, being now in pursuit of
 “ Justice, only to save some *Cormorants*, who
 “ have devoured that which must be re-
 “ gorged, you will pluck up a Sluice which
 “ will overwhelm your self. Those empty
 “ Fellows, Sir *Giles Mompeyson*, and Sir *Fran-*
 “ *cis Michel*, let them be made Victims to
 “ the publick Wrath. Let them be thrown
 “ over-board in the Storm; for there are no
 “ Wares in the Ship may better be spared.
 “ Nay, my Sentence is, Cast all MONOPOLIES,
 “ and *Patents* of GRIPING PROJECTIONS,
 “ into the Dead Sea after them; that the World
 “ may see that the KING, who is the *Pilot* that
 “ sits at the Helm, is ready to play the *Pump*,
 “ to eject such Filth, as grew noisome in the
 “ Nostrils of his People. And your Lordship
 “ must needs partake in the Applause; for
 “ tho’ it is known, That these *Vermin* haunted
 “ your Chamber, and is much whispered, That
 “ they set up *Trade* with some little Licence
 “ from your Honour; yet when none shall
 “ appear more forward than yourself to crush
 “ them, the Discourse will drop of course.

And to make it still appear plainer, Sir *Henry*
Telverton, Attorney General, having found the
 Effects of the Marquessees Displeasure, was com-
 mitted to the Tower, by not closing with his
 Desires in such *Patents* as he required; and
Telverton endeavouring to justify himself, the
 King was affronted at it, and requires the
 Lords,

Lords, who were able to do him Justice, to punish *Yelverton* for his Slander: † He was likewise charged by the Commons, for advising the Patent of Gold and Silver Thread, to be reassumed into the King's Hands; and for other Connivances in his Office, in Favour of the Duke.

He made a very fair Defence to the Charges against him, in an elegant Speech before the Lords: Wherein he observes;

“ That as he knew the Lord *Buckingham**
 “ was ever at his Majesty's Right Hand, ready
 “ upon every Occasion to hew him down,
 “ and being fearful of offending his Majesty,
 “ he did commit them, (*viz.* The *Silk-Men.*)
 “ That he had Messages from the Lord
 “ *Buckingham*, to acquaint him, that he should
 “ not hold his Place a Month, if he did not
 “ conform himself in other Measure to the Pa-
 “ tent of Inns; for that my Lord had obtained
 “ it by his Favour, and would maintain it by
 “ his Power. (He concludes) That had the
 “ Lord *Buckingham* read the Articles exhibited
 “ in this Place, against *Hugh Spencer*, and had
 “ known the Danger of *Placing* and *Displacing*
 “ OFFICERS about a King, he would not
 “ have pursued him with such Bitterness: But,
 “ (says he) in opposing my Lord, in these
 “ Patents, &c. has caused my overthrow; and
 “ for these, I suffer at this Day in my
 “ Estate and Fortune, for my humble Oppo-
 “ sition to his Lordship, upwards of twenty
 “ thousand Pounds.

This Speech so offended the King and his Favourite, That he was fined ten thousand

B 3

Marks

† *Wilson.*

* *Annals.*

Marks for the Words reflecting on his Majesty, and five thousand for those reflecting on the Marquess, and was obliged to make his Submission : But those Fines at the Instance of the Lords were forgiven ; the Marquess reconcil'd to him, and *Yelverton* soon after made a Judge for his uncommon Abilities in the Common Law.

Nothing further of Moment happened in this Session, but the degrading the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* for Bribery. And on the 20th of *Nov.* 1621. The Parliament met again by Adjournment ; when the Match of the Infanta of *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, was brought on the Carpet, the King being exceeding fond of it, imagining a strict Alliance with *Spain*, would facilitate the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, for his Children. But Differences arising ; the King taking it amiss, that the Parliament should take the Liberty to treat of his High Prerogatives, or to examine into the Mysteries of Sovereignty : And the Parliament apprehending they had a Right to enquire to what Uses the Monies which had been raised, was applied ; after several Remonstrances and Messages in Defence of their just Liberties , and there appearing no probability of coming to an Agreement, his Majesty took a Resolution to dissolve the Parliament, which was done accordingly by Proclamation the 6th of *January* following : And to widen the Breach with his Subjects, several of the Members who had appeared most zealous to maintain the Privileges of the House, were committed to Prison, and others sent Abroad.

And

And now the King, who dreamt of nothing but restoring the *Palatinate*, by means of this *Spanish Match*, tho' contrary to the Inclination of his Subjects, sends over the Lord *Digby*, (Embassador Extraordinary) to conclude it; but the Tergiversation of the *Spaniards*, appeared so conspicuous from the Day of his Landing, as I have not room in this narrow Compass to observe, * so shall only remark, That the *Spanish Court* countenanced it only to amuse King *James*, till the *Palatinate* was quite lost ‖. Divers were the Letters passed between the two Courts, not forgetting those, to and from the *Pope*. But the chief Artifice they used to retard the Match; was, waiting for the *Pope's* Dispensation, and for the encouragement of *Popery*. These were the Wheels always kept clogg'd, these were the Obstacles thrown in the Way, and proved too many for the Lord *Digby*, (now Earl of *Bristol*) to remove.

But now, to the Surprize of all *Europe*, the Scene is changed; and the most extraordinary Adventure that Ages have produced appears, viz. The Marquess of *Buckingham*, who had not only the Ear of the Prince, but in short, the Government of him, prevails on him to go over to *Spain*, himself, and bring over his Mistress, the *Infanta*; he tells him, (indeed true) what an uncommon Act of Gallantry it was, and how much it would redound to his Honour. These artful Representations transported the Prince with the Thoughts of so noble an

B 4

Adventure;

* Vide *Wilson*; *Annals*, *Weldon*, *Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams*, &c.

‖ He might have almost purchased such a Country as the *Palatinate* with the Money spent on Ambassages. *Wilson*.

Adventure; that he could not rest, till he had procured the King's Consent; there lay the Difficulty: His Majesty was averse to it, till, at last, he was even bullied into it by *Buckingham**. And on the 17th of *February* 1622, the Heir apparent to the Crown, attended by his Knight Errant, the Marquess; Sir *Francis Cottington*, and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, went, all disguised, thro' *France*, Post, and had narrowly escaped being detained at *Bajone* on the Borders of *Spain*, † On the 20th of *March* they arrived at *Madrid*; and as soon as it was notified at Court, the Prince was received with extraordinary Magnificence by King *Philip*: And soon after King *James* imagining the Marriage was agreed on, he sent over a Patent, to *Spain* creating his Favourite, Earl of *Coventry*, and Duke of *Buckingham*; as a grateful Acknowledgment for his signal Services. But after the Delay of the Dispensation for some Months, to evince the Apprehension the Prince was under of being detained there a Prisoner, and the extravagancy of such an Undertaking, he wrote a Letter to his Father King *James*, telling him, *he must now look upon his Sister and her Children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had such a Son*. However, they found means to get on board the *English* Fleet at *St. Andero*, sent over for that Purpose, the 12th of *September*, and arrived at *Portsmouth*, the 5th of *October*.

The People, who had being very uneasy at the Princes taking so hazardous a Journey, and his long Stay in *Spain*, received him with the

* Vide *Clarendon*, Tom. I. p. 14.

† *Wilson*.

the utmost Expressions of Joy on his Return; but the King was under such Perplexity, when he found the Match was broke off by the Intrigues of *Buckingham*, the Cause of which, was owing to the Quarrels between the *Conde Olivarez* and the Duke, whose Resentment was such, that he obliged the Prince to break off the Match on that Account.

The King was obliged to have recourse to Patience, the only Remedy he had left; The Powerful Influence the Duke had over the Prince, was such, That all the Officers and Courtiers were the Dukes own Creatures, and the poor King only executed their Councils: The Duke knowing the Aversion of the People in general, to the *Spanish* Match, embrac'd this Opportunity of ingratiating himself with them, and remove their Murmurs (for his advising the Prince to undertake so dangerous, unaccountable a Journey,) by procuring a Parliament to be called, and declaring himself to be the Author of the Dissolution of the said Match: And notwithstanding the King had declared he would never call another; yet so over-bearing was the Duke's Influence, that he not only prevailed on his Majesty to call one, but made him speak to the Parliament in a manner the most repugnant to his Principles §. To this Parliament, the Duke delivers a specious Narrative of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, and his Conduct there, which that eminent Historian, the Earl of *Clarendon* ||, says, That the King knew to be, for the most part, untrue, and notwithstanding which, says *Rapin*, the Duke and Prince's

§ *Hacker's Life Archbishop Williams. Coke.*

|| Tom. I. p. 19.

Prince's Power, was so great, That the King had the weakness to attest the Truth of it, and to assure the Parliament, that the Duke had said the same Things to him.

By these Means, the Duke gain'd his Point, procur'd a Dissolution of the *Spanish Match*; and by his Narrative beforementioned, amus'd the House, by false Explanations, that on the breaking off of the Match, they voted his Majesty large Supplies for carrying on the War just entering into, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. But the Duke fearing his Artifices would be discovered, by the Arrival of the Earl of *Bristol* from *Spain*, oblig'd the King, in Conjunction with the Prince, to forbid the Earl the Court; till he should have answered such Questions as would be put to him by the Duke, &c.

The next who felt the Resentment of this over-bearing Minister, § was his old Friend, *Cranfield*, Lord Treasurer, for having honesty enough to refuse him some exorbitant Demands on the Treasury, when he was in *Spain*; and by the Assistance of the Prince, altho' the King begged, for God's Sake, to drop the Impeachment, and by the help of his Minions in the House, he was fin'd fifty thousand Pounds under pretence of Mismanagement, in Spight of the King's Teeth, who with Reason became Jealous of too great an Intimacy between the Prince and the Duke; and soon after, the Treaty of Marriage, which had been for some time projected between the Duke and Prince, with *Henrietta Maria* Sister to the King of *France*, was ratified, but the Consummation of which was prevented, by the

§ *Wilson, Clarendon, Weldon, Coke,*

the Death of King JAMES, who died at *Theobalds* of a *Tertian* Ague, *March* 27. 1625. in the 49th Year of his Age, after a short Indisposition. The different Opinions of the Cause of his Indisposition, (having not room in this confined Treatise) I refer to the following Historians, viz. *Wilson, Weldon, Coke, Burnet, &c.*

The Demise of King *James*, produced no other alteration than a new King; for *Charles* the first, had been too long endeared to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as beforementioned, to admit of any new Favourites, and consequently, the same Council, the same Ministers, and all the Places both in the Court and Kingdom, was continued in the Hands of the Duke's Favourites; and therefore, to avoid prolixity, shall only observe, that King *Charles* the first was proclaimed with the usual Solemnities in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and a Parliament by advice of Council, was summon'd to meet at *Westminster*, *June* the 18th following. In the interim, the Duke of *Buckingham*, was sent over to *France*, to conduct over the future Queen, the Navy Royal of *England* waited for her at *Boloigne*, and conducted her to *Dover*, *June* the 12th, where the King met her the next Morning, and conducted her to *Canterbury*, where the Marriage was consummated. The Preparations to receive the Royal Pair in *London*, were omitted, by reason of the Plague then beginning to rage violently.

On the 18th of *June* beforementioned, His Majesty opened the Session of Parliament with a Speech, setting forth the Cause of convening them,

them, and desiring them to enable him to prosecute the War, resolved on in the last Parliament; but by reason of the Plague then raging in *London*, the Parliament was adjourn'd, (before any Business was done) to meet at *Oxford* the first of *August*; and thither was brought the first News of some Ships of the Royal Navy lent to the *French King*, the said Ships being employed against the Protestants of *Rochelle*, which gave great Umbrage. On the 4th of *August*, his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses in *Christ-Church Hall, Oxford* †, and his Secretaries were ordered to lay before the House the State of Affairs both Abroad and at Home; and the Duke likewise gave an Account of the Fleet, &c. But the Commons immediately proceeding to examine Grievances, and this Examination producing divers Complaints against the Duke, &c. for Misapplication of the last Monies granted by Parliament, and for many Miscarriages in foreign Expeditions, his Majesty, by Commission, dissolved the Parliament the 12th of the same Month.

However, the King was determined to carry on the War against *Spain*, as was resolved in Parliament, just before the Death of his Royal Father. To facilitate which, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were sent to the *Hague* to conclude a League with the *United Netherlands*. But Monies, which is the Sinews of War being wanting, he proposed borrowing large Sums, by way of Loan on *Privy Seals*, which caused matter of Grievance, and

† Annals.

and extenuated Complaints in the ensuing Parliament.

On the 2d of *February* his Majesty was crowned at *Westminster*, according to Custom, the Duke of *Buckingham* walking before his Majesty, as Lord High Constable for the Day.

I shall now proceed to the next Parliament wherein the Duke was impeached, nothing momentous intervening ; which was summon'd to meet at *Westminster*, by Proclamation, the 6th of *February* following ; Sir *Henneage Finch*, Recorder of *London* was chosen Speaker. Several Messages passed between the King and Parliament touching the Supplies ; but the House was resolved to proceed against the Duke, at the same Time, for his ill Conduct, both at Home and Abroad. And to which purpose, Dr. *Turner* a Member of the House, propos'd certain Queries against the Duke, and several Lawyers were consulted to know whether that House, in their Proceedings against the Duke, might make common Fame a ground for such Proceedings, which was agreed to by the House, but highly resented by his Majesty : However they were resolved to proceed, and Sir *John Elliot* opened the Grievances, in a learned Speech, both at Home and Abroad, occasioned by the Duke's ill management, and concluded, that notwithstanding their Proceedings, against the Duke, yet it was necessary to mind the King's Supplies, and thereupon the House voted three Subsidies and three Fifteens, but resolved, at the same time, to proceed against the Duke ; which the King hearing of, commanded both Houses to attend him

the next Morning at the Banqueting House, where after a short Speech †, he commanded the Lord Keeper to proceed; who observed
 “ the harsh treatment, not only that the Duke
 “ had met with, but that his Majesty, and
 “ Royal Father, thro’ his Side, had been
 “ stain’d and blemish’d, which his Majesty
 “ highly resented; and he was further com-
 “ manded to acquaint the House, That the
 “ King, from his *own Knowledge*, vouched
 “ the Sincerity of the *Duke’s Proceedings*: his
 “ *Cautions*, his *Discretion*, what *Enemies* he had
 “ procured at *Home* and *Abroad*; what Peril
 “ of his *Person*, and Hazard of his *Estate*,
 “ both for the *Service* of his Majesty, and
 “ *Royal Father*, and that it is his Majesty’s
 “ final Commandment, that they cease those
 “ *Inquisitions*, and commit to his Majesty’s
 “ Care, Wisdom, and Justice, the future Re-
 “ formation of those Things which they sup-
 “ posed were otherwise.

But these Commands were far from being satisfactory to the House; for they immediately turned themselves into a Grand Committee, ordered their Doors to be lock’d, and that no Member go forth, till the House came to a Resolution, concerning some Expressions which fell from his Majesty, and the Lord Keeper, of which his Majesty having Knowledge, commanded the Duke to explain his Meaning, which he did, in a Speech, and in Defence of himself, at a Conference of both Houses held in the Painted Chamber: However, these Defences gave the Commons but little Satisfaction; for they immediately address his Majesty about the

the Duke, and prepare a Remonstrance to the King, in answer to his Majesty's and Lord Keeper's Speeches: On delivery of which, the King said he could not give a present Answer, but desir'd they would adjourn for a Week, as the Lords had done.

May 1. The Earl of *Bristol*, who stood Impeach'd in the House of Lords, by order of the King for High Treason, (thro' the Artifices of the Duke, under pretence of Offences committed by him in *Spain*,) Exhibited Articles of High Treason in the House of Lords against the Duke, for his ill Conduct in *Spain*, and for his endeavouring to pervert the Prince (now King) to the *Romish* Religion, and for that purpose advised the Journey; and that he had procured a Letter to be written from his late Majesty to the Pope, and to have him stiled [*Sanctissime Pater.*] But the next Day the King sends a Message to the Lords, asserting the Duke's Innocence in every Article of the Charge against him, of his own certain Knowledge; and returns them Thanks for not putting the Duke under the same Restraint they had put the Earl.

His Majesty likewise sends for the Bishops, and reprehended them, that in this Time of Parliament, they had not made known to him what might be profitable to the Church, and charges them, that in the Causes of *BRISTOL* and *BUCKINGHAM*, their CONSCIENCES being their Guides, they should follow only *Proofs*, not *Rumour*.

The Commons now send a Message to the Duke by Sir *John Epsly*, to acquaint him, that they were passing Articles against him, and
that

that he might take a Copy of them out of the Clerk's Book, if he pleased, and that they expected his Answer that Day, by ten o'Clock, if he pleased to send any.

The Commons being now employed in drawing up the Articles of Impeachment against the Duke, a Debate arose in the House, Whether the Committee should consider of any new Matter, not heretofore proposed in the House against him? And it was resolved in the Affirmative.

Hereupon Mr. *Glanville*, (who had the Chair,) reported from the Committee, the Examination concerning a Plaister and a Posset, applied, and given to King *James* in his last Sickness, contrary to the Directions of the King's sworn Physicians; and it was resolved this should be annexed to the Charge against the Duke, as a transcendent Presumption of dangerous Consequence.

As soon as the Earl of *Bristol* had gone thro' his Answer to the several Articles of Impeachment against him in the House of Lords; The Commons, the eighth of *May*, 1626, brought up their Impeachment against the Duke of *BUCKINGHAM*, which was delivered at a Conference of both Houses, and spun out two Days. It was managed by eight Members of the Commons, and sixteen more, as Assistants. The Managers were Sir *Dudly Diggs*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanville*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Sherland*, Mr. *Wandesford*, and Sir *John Elliot*.

Sir *Dudly Diggs* open'd the Impeachment in the following Speech, by way of Prologue.

My LORDS,

“ THERE are so many Things of great
 “ Importance to be said in very little
 “ time to day, that I conceive it will not be
 “ unacceptable to your Lordships, if (setting
 “ by all Rhetorical Affectations) I only in
 “ plain Country Language, humbly pray your
 “ Lordships Favour, to include many Excuses
 “ necessary to my manifold Infirmities in this
 “ one Word, I am *commanded* by the Knights,
 “ Citizens and Burgeses of the Commons
 “ House, to present to your Lordships their
 “ most affectionate Thanks for your ready con-
 “ descending to this Conference, which out
 “ of confidence in your great Wisdoms, and
 “ approved Justice, for the Service of his Ma-
 “ jesty, and the Welfare of this Realm, they
 “ desired upon this Occasion.

“ The House of Commons, by a fatal and
 “ universal concurrence of Complaints from
 “ all the sea-bordering Parts of this Kingdom,
 “ did find a great and grievous interruption,
 “ and stop, of Trade and Traffick: The base
 “ Pirates of *Sally* ignominiously infesting our
 “ Coasts, taking our Ships and Goods, and
 “ leading away the Subjects of this Kingdom,
 “ into barbarous Captivity; while, to our
 “ Shame, and hindrance of Commerce; our

C

“ Enemies

“ Enemies did (as it were) besiege our Ports,
 “ and block up our best Rivers Mouths. Our
 “ Friends, on slight Pretences, made imbar-
 “ goes of our Merchants Goods, and every
 “ Nation (upon the least occasion) was ready
 “ to contemn and slight us: So great was
 “ the apparent diminution of the ancient Ho-
 “ nour of this Crown, and one strong Repu-
 “ tation of our Nation. Wherewith the Com-
 “ mons were more troubled, calling to re-
 “ membrance, how formerly, in *France*, in
 “ *Spain*, in *Holland*, and every where by Sea
 “ and Land, the Valours of this Kingdom
 “ had been better valued, and even in latter
 “ Times, within remembrance, when we had
 “ no Alliance with *France*, none in *Denmark*,
 “ none in *Germany*, no Friend in *Italy*, *Scot-*
 “ *land* (to say no more) ununited, *Ireland*
 “ not settled in Peace, and much less Secu-
 “ rity at home, when *SPAIN* was ambitious
 “ as it is *now*, under a King (*Philip* the second)
 “ they called their Wisest: The House of *Au-*
 “ *stria* as great and potent, and both strenght-
 “ ned with a malicious League in *France*, of
 “ persons ill-affected; when the *Low Countries*
 “ had no being: yet, by constant Councils,
 “ and *old English Ways*, even *then* that *Spanish*
 “ Pride was cooled, that Greatness of the House
 “ of *Austria*, so formidable to us now, was
 “ well resisted; and to the UNITED PRO-
 “ VINCES of the *Low Countries*, such a Begin-
 “ ning, Growth, and Strength was given, as gave
 “ us Honour over all the Christian World. The
 “ Commons therefore wondering at the Evils
 “ which they suffered, debating of the Causes
 “ of them, found there were many drawn like
 “ Lines

“ Lines to one Circumference, of DECAY &
 “ TRADE, and Strength of HONOUR and RE-
 “ PUTATION in this Kingdom; which as in
 “ one Centre, met in ONE GREAT MAN, the
 “ Cause of all, whom I am here to Name,
 “ the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

*Here Sir Dudley Diggs making a little
 Stop, afterwards read the Preamble to
 the Charge, as followeth.*

The Commons Declaration and Impeach- ment against the Duke of Bucking- ham.

*For the speedy redress of great Evils and Mis-
 chiefs, and of the chief Cause of these Evils and
 Mischiefs which this Kingdom now grievously
 suffereth, and of late years hath suffered, and
 to the Honour and Safety of our Sovereign Lord
 the King, and of his Crown and Dignity; and to
 the Good and Welfare of his People; The COM-
 MONS in this present Parliament, by the Autho-
 rity of our said Sovereign Lord the King assembled,
 do, by this their Bill, shew and declare against
 George, Duke, Marquess and Earl of BUCK-
 INGHAM, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villiers,
 Baron of Whaddon, Great Admiral of the King-
 doms of England and Ireland, and of the Prin-
 cipality of Wales, and of the Dominions and
 Islands of the same, and of Normandy, Gas-
 coign, and Guinne, General Governor of the
 Seas and Ships of the said Kingdom, Lieutenant-
 General, Admiral, Captain-General and Gover-
 nour of his Majesty's Royal Fleet and Army, lately*

*set forth; Master of the Horse of our Sovereign
 Lord the King, Lord Warden, Chancellor, and
 Admiral of the Cinque-Ports, and of the Mem-
 bers thereof, Constable of Dover-Castle, Justice
 in Eyre of the Forests and Chases on this Side the
 River Trent, Constable of the Castle of Windsor,
 Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, one of
 his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in his
 Realms, both in England, Scotland and Ireland,
 and Knight of the most honourable Order of the
 Garter: The Misdemeanors, Misprisions, Of-
 fences, Crimes, and other Matters, comprized in
 the Articles following; and him the said Duke
 do accuse and impeach of the said Misdemea-
 nors, Misprisions, Offences, and Crimes.*

My Lords,

“ This lofty Title of this mighty Man me-
 “ thinks doth raise my Spirits to speak with a
 “ *paulo majora Canamus*; and let it not displease
 “ your Lordships, if for Foundation, I compare
 “ the beautiful Structure and fair Composition
 “ of this Monarchy wherein we live to the great
 “ Work of God, the World it self: In which
 “ the solid Body of incorporated Earth and Sea,
 “ as I conceive, in regard of our Husbandry,
 “ Manufactures, and Commerce by Land and
 “ Sea, may well resemble us, the Commons.
 “ And as it is encompassed with the Air, and
 “ Fire, and Spheres celestial; of Planets, and
 “ a Firmament of fixed Stars; all which receive
 “ their Heat, Light, and Life from one Great,
 “ Glorious Sun, even like the King our Sove-
 “ reign: So that Firmament of fixed Stars, I
 “ take to be your Lordships; those Planets, the
 “ great Officers of the Kingdom; that pure Ele-
 “ ment

“ ment of Fire, the most Religious, Zealous,
 “ and Pious Clergy ; and the Reverend Judges,
 “ Magistrates, and Ministers of Law and Jus-
 “ tice, the Air wherein we breathe: All which
 “ encompass round with cherishing Comfort,
 “ this *Body* of the *Commons* ; who truly labour
 “ for them all, and though they be the Foot-
 “ stool and the lowest, may well be said to be
 “ the settled Centre of the State.

“ Now (my good Lords) if that glorious Sun,
 “ by his powerful Beams of Grace and Favour,
 “ shall draw from the Bowels of this Earth an
 “ Exhalation that shall take Fire, and burn, and
 “ shine out like a Star, it needs not be marvelled
 “ at, if the poor Commons gaze, and wonder
 “ at the Comet, and when they feel the Effects,
 “ impute all to the incorruptible Matter of it ;
 “ but if any such imperfect Mixture appear,
 “ like that in the last Age, in the Chair of *Cassi-*
 “ *opeia*, among the fixed Stars themselves, where
 “ *Aristotle*, and the old Philosophers conceived
 “ there was no Place for such Corruption ; then,
 “ as the learned Mathematicians were troubled
 “ to observe the irregular Motions, the prodi-
 “ gious Magnitude, and the ominous Progno-
 “ sticks of that Meteor ; so the Commons, when
 “ they see such a *Blazing-Star* in course so ex-
 “ orbitant in the Affairs of this *Commonwealth*,
 “ cannot but look upon it, and for want of Per-
 “ spectives, commend the nearer Examination to
 “ your Lordships, who may behold it a nearer
 “ distance. Such a prodigious Comet the Com-
 “ mons take this Duke of BUCKINGHAM to be ;
 “ against whom, and his irregular Ways, there
 “ are, by learned Gentlemen, legal Articles of
 “ Charge to be delivered to your Lordships,

“ which I am generally first commanded to
 “ lay open.

“ *First*, The OFFICES of this Kingdom, that
 “ are the Eyes, the Ears, and the Hands of this
 “ Commonwealth; these have been engrossed,
 “ bought and sold, and many of the *greatest* of
 “ them holden even in the *Duke's* own Hands;
 “ which severally gave, in former Ages, sufficient
 “ content to the *greatest Favourites*, and were
 “ Work enough for wisest Counsellors; by
 “ means whereof, what strange Abuses! what
 “ infinite Neglects have followed? The *Seas*
 “ have been unguarded, *Trade* disturbed, *Mer-*
 “ *chants* oppressed, their *Ships*, and even one
 “ of the *Royal Navy*, by cunning practice, de-
 “ livered over into *Foreign Hands*, and contrary
 “ to our good King's intention employed to the
 “ prejudice, (almost to the Ruin) of Friends
 “ of our own Religion.

“ *Secondly*, Next HONOUR's, (those most pre-
 “ cious Jewels of the Crown) a Treasure inesti-
 “ mable, wherewith your *noble Ancestors* (my
 “ Lords) were well rewarded, for eminent and
 “ publick Service in the Commonwealth at
 “ home; for brave *Exploits* abroad, when co-
 “ vered all with Dust and Blood, they sweat in
 “ Service, for the *Honour* of this Crown, what
 “ *Back-ways*, what *By-ways* have been by this
 “ Duke found out, are too well known to your
 “ Lordships. Whereas, anciently, it was the
 “ Honour of *England* (as among the *Romans*)
 “ the way to the Temple of *Honour*, was through
 “ the Temple of *Virtue*. But I am commanded
 “ to press this no further, than to let your
 “ Lordships know, one instance may (perhaps)
 “ be given of some one Lord compelled to pur-
 “ chase Honour.

Thirdly,

“ *Thirdly*, As divers of the Duke's *poor Kin-*
 “ *dred* have been raised to great Honours, which
 “ some have been, and are likely to be more
 “ *chargeable* and *burthensome* to the Crown; so the
 “ *Lands* and *Revenues*, and the *Treasuries* of his
 “ Majesty, have been *intercepted* and *exhausted*
 “ by this Duke and his *Friends*, and strangely
 “ *mis-employ'd* with strange *Confusions* of the Ac-
 “ counts, and overthrow of the *well-established*
 “ *ancient Orders* of his Majesty's *Exchequer*.

“ *Fourthly*, The last of the Charges which
 “ are prepared, will be an Injury offered to the
 “ Person of the late King of blessed Memory,
 “ who is with God, of which (as your Lord-
 “ ships may have heard heretofore) you shall,
 “ anon, have further Information. Now upon
 “ this occasion, I am commanded by the Com-
 “ mons, to take care of the Honour of the King
 “ our Sovereign that lives, (long may he live to
 “ our Comfort, and good of the Christian
 “ World) and also his blessed Father who is
 “ dead; on whom, to the Grief of the Com-
 “ mons, and their great Distaste, the Lord Duke
 “ did (they conceive) unworthily cast some ill
 “ odour of his own *foul Ways*; whereas Servants
 “ were antiently wont to bear, as in truth they
 “ ought, their Master's Faults, and not cast their
 “ own on them undeservedly. It is well known,
 “ the King (who is with God) had the same
 “ *Power*, and the same *Wisdom*, before he knew
 “ this *Duke*, yea, and the same Affections too,
 “ thro' which (as a good and gracious Master) he
 “ advanced and raised some Stars of your Lord-
 “ ships Firmament; in whose Hands this Exorbi-
 “ tancy of *Will*, this transcendency of *Power*,
 “ such placing and displacing of OFFICERS,

“ such irregular running into all by-Courses of
 “ the *Planets*, such SOLE, and SINGLE managing
 “ of the *Great Affairs* of *State*, was never heard of.
 “ And therefore only to the Lord Duke, and
 “ his Procurement, by Misinformations, these
 “ Faults complained of by the Commons, are
 “ to be imputed.

“ And for our most Gracious Sovereign that
 “ lives, whose Name hath been used, and may,
 “ perhaps now be for the Duke's Justification,
 “ the Commons know well, that among his Ma-
 “ jesty's most Royal Virtues, his Piety unto his
 “ Father, hath made him a pious nourisher of his
 “ Affections ever to the Lord Duke, on whom,
 “ out of that Consideration, his Majesty hath
 “ wrought a kind of wonder, making Favour
 “ hereditary, but the Abuse thereof, must be the
 “ Lord Duke's own: And if there has been any
 “ *Commands*, such as were, or may be pretended,
 “ his Misinformations have procured them:
 “ Whereas the Laws of *England* teach us, that
 “ Kings cannot command ill and unlawful
 “ Things, whenever they speak, though by their
 “ Letters Patents, or their Seals. If the Things
 “ be evil, these Letters Patents are void; and
 “ whatsoever ill Event succeeds, the *Execution* of
 “ such *Commands* must ever answer for them.
 “ Thus, my Lords, in performance of my
 “ Duty, my weakness hath been troublesome
 “ unto your Lordships, it is now high time
 “ humbly to intreat your Pardon, and give
 “ way to a learned Gentleman to begin a more
 “ particular Charge.

N. B. In order to let the Reader into a true
 Light of the Cause which produced the Ef-
 fect

fect of the following Debates; I have thought proper to insert, the Articles exhibited against the Duke; and lest I might by some, be thought partial, in not giving the Duke's Answer at large to the said Articles; I think it necessary to observe, that as I have declined inserting the several Speeches, and Aggravations, which are very long and nervous, by the Managers to each respective Article, against the Duke; so I apprehend, I may as easily be excused for not giving the Duke's Answer which is not only as long, and as foreign to our present purpose, but would take up too much room to render these Memoirs so useful as I design them.

Then were read, the first, second, and third Articles.

ARTICLE I.

PLURALITY of OFFICES.

THAT whereas the great Offices expressed in the said Duke's Stile and Title, heretofore have been the singular Preferments of several Persons, eminent in Wisdom and Trust, and fully able for the weighty Service, and greatest Employments of the State, whereby the said Offices were both carefully, and sufficiently executed by several Persons of such Wisdom, Trust, and Ability: And others also that were employed by the Royal Progenitors of our Sovereign Lord the King, in places of less Dignity, were much encouraged with the hopes of Advancement,

Advancement. And whereas, divers of the said Places severally of themselves, and necessarily require the whole Care, Industry and Attendance of a most provident, and most able Person: He, the said Duke, being young and unexperienced, hath, of late Years, with exorbitant Ambition, and for his own Profit and Advantage, procured and engrossed into his own Hands the said several Offices, both to the danger of the State, the prejudice of that Service, which should have been performed in them, and to the great Discouragement of others, who by this his procuring and ingrossing of the said Offices, are precluded from such hopes as their Virtues, Abilities, and publick Employments might otherwise have given them.

ARTICLE II.

His buying of Offices.

WHereas, by the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom of *England*, if any Person whatsoever, give or pay any Sum of Money, Fee, or Reward, directly, or indirectly, for any Office, or Offices, which in any wise touch or concern the Administration or Execution of Justice, or the keeping any of the King's Majesty's Towns, Castles, or Fortresses, being used, occupied, or appointed, for Places of Strength, and Defence; the same Person is immediately, upon the same Fee, Money, or Reward, given or paid, to be adjudged a disabled Person in the Law, to all intents and purposes, to have, occupy, or enjoy the said Office,

Office, or Offices, for the which he so giveth or payeth any Sum of Money, Fee, or Reward. He, the said Duke did, in, or about the Month of *January*, in the sixteenth Year of the late King *James*, of famous Memory, give and pay to the Right Honourable *Charles*, then Earl of *Nottingham*, for the Office of Great Admiral of *England*, and *Ireland*, and the Principality of *Wales*, and for the Office of General Governour of the Seas and Ships of the said Kingdoms, and for the surrender of the said Offices, then made to the said King, by the said Earl of *Nottingham*, being then Great Admiral of the said Kingdoms and Principality of *Wales*, and General-Governor of the Seas and Ships, to the intent the said Duke might obtain the said Offices to his own Use, the Sum of three thousand Pounds of lawful Money of *England*, and did also about the same time, procure from the said King a further Reward, for the surrender of the said Office, to the said Earl, of an Annuity of one thousand Pounds by the Year, for, and during the Life of the said Earl; and by the procurement of the said Duke, the said late King, of famous Memory, did, by his Letters Patents, dated the seven and twentieth of *January*, in the said Year of his Reign, under the great Seal of *England*, grant to the said Earl the said Annuity, which he the said Earl, accordingly had and enjoyed during his Life, and by reason of the said Sum of Money, so, as aforesaid, paid by the said Duke. And of this the said Duke's Procurement of the said Annuity, the Earl of *Nottingham* did, in the same Month, surrender unto the said late King, his said Offices, and his Patents

Patents of them; and thereupon the said Offices were obtained by the Duke for his Life, from the said King, of famous Memory, by Letters Patents made to the said Duke, of the same Offices, under the Great Seal of *England*, dated the eight and twentieth day of *January*, in the said sixteenth Year of the said late King. And the said Offices of Great Admiral and Governour as aforesaid, are Offices that highly touch and concern the Administration and Execution of Justice, within the Provision of the said Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, which notwithstanding, the said Duke hath unlawfully, ever since the first unlawful obtaining of the said Grant, of the said Offices, retained them in his Hands, and exercised them against the Laws and Statutes aforesaid.

ARTICLE III.

His buying the Cinque-Ports of the Lord Zouch.

THE said Duke did likewise, in or about the beginning of the Month of *December*, in the twenty second Year of the said late King *James* of famous Memory, give and pay to the Right Honourable *Edward*, late Lord *Zouch*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and of the Members thereof, and Constable of the Castle of *Dover*, for the said Offices, and for the surrender of the said Offices of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of the said Castle of *Dover*, to be made to the said late King, the Sum of one thousand Pounds of lawful Money of *England*; and then also granted

an Annuity of five hundred Pounds yearly, to the said Lord *Zouch*, for the Life of the said Lord *Zouch*; to the intent, that he, the said Duke, might thereby obtain the said Offices to his own Use. And for the abovesaid Consideration, he the said Lord *Zouch*, the fourth Day of *December*, in the year aforesaid, did surrender his said Office, and his Letters Patents of them, to the said late King. And thereupon, he the said Duke obtained the said Offices for his Life, of the said late King, by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, dated the sixth Day of *December* in the said two and twentieth Year. And the said Office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and of the Members thereof, is an Office that doth highly touch and concern Administration and Execution of Justice; and the said Office of Constable of the Castle of *Dover*, is an Office that highly concerneth the keeping and defence of the Town and Port, and of the said Castle of *Dover*, which is, and hath ever been appointed, for a most eminent Place of Strength and Defence of this Kingdom; which notwithstanding, the said Duke hath unlawfully, retained them in his Hands, and exercised them against the Laws and Statutes aforesaid.

These three Articles were enlarged on by Mr. *Herbert*.

A R T I C L E IV.

His Neglect of guarding the Seas.

WHereas the said Duke, by reason of his said Offices of Great Admiral of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and of the Princi-

Principality of *Wales*, and of the Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and General Governor of the Seas and Ships of the said Kingdoms, and by reason of the Trust thereunto belonging, ought at all Time, since the said Offices obtained, to have safely guarded, kept, and preserved the said Seas, and the Dominion of them; and ought also, whensoever they wanted either Men, Ships, Munition, or other Strength whatsoever that might conduce to the better Safeguard of them, to have used from time to time his utmost Endeavour for the Supply of such Wants to the Lords and others of the Privy Council, and by procuring such Supply from his Sovereign, or otherwise. As the said Duke hath, ever since the Dissolution of the two Treaties mentioned in the Act of Subsidies, the twenty first year of the late King *James*, (that is to say) the space of two Years last past, neglected the just performance of his said Office and Duty, and broken the said Trust therewith committed unto him: And hath not, according to his said Offices, during the Time aforesaid, safely kept the Seas: Insomuch, that by reason of his neglect and default therein, not only the Trade and Strength of this Kingdom of *England* hath been, during the said Time, much decayed, but the same Seas also have been, during the same Time, ignominiously infested by Pirates and Enemies, to the Loss both of very many Ships and Goods, and of many of the Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King: And the Dominion of the said Seas, (being the ancient and undoubted PATRIMONY of the Kings of *England*) is thereby also in most imminent Danger to be utterly lost.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE V.

His taking a Ship called the St. Peter of Newhaven.

WHereas about *Michaelmas* last past, a Ship called the *St. Peter of Newhaven*, (whereof *John Mallerow* was Master) laden with divers Goods, Merchandizes, Monies, Jewels and Commodities, to the value of forty thousand Pounds, or thereabouts, for the proper Account of Monsieur *Villieurs*, the then Governor of *Newhaven*, and other Subjects of the *French* King, being in perfect Amity and League with our Sovereign the King, was taken at Sea by some of the Ships of his Majesty's late Fleet, set forth under the Command of the said Duke, as well by Direction from him the said Duke, as Great Admiral of *England*, as by the Authority of the extraordinary Commission he then had for the Command of the said Fleet, and was by them, together with her said Goods and Lading, brought into the Port at *Plymouth*, as a Prize, among many others, upon Probabilities that the said Ship, or Goods belonged to the Subjects of the King of *Spain*: And that divers Parcels of the said Goods and Lading were taken out of the said Ship of *St. Peter*; (that is to say) sixteen Barrels of *Cobeneal*, eight Bags of Gold, twenty three Bags of Silver, two Boxes of Pearls and Emeralds, a Chain of Gold, Jewels, Monies and Commodities to the value of twenty thousand Pounds, or thereabouts, and by the said Duke were delivered into the private Custody of one
Gabriel

Gabriel Marsh, Servant to the said Duke; and that the said Ship, with the Residue of her Goods and Lading, was, from thence sent up into the River of *Thames* and there detained; whereupon there was an Arrest at *Newhaven*, in the Kingdom of *France* on the seventh day of *December* last, of two *English* Merchant Ships trading thither, as was alledged in certain Petitions exhibited by some *English* Merchants trading into *France*, to the Lords and others of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council; after which, (that is to say) on the twenty eighth day of the said Month, his Majesty was pleased to order, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, that the said Ship and Goods, belonging to the Subjects of the *French* King, should be re-delivered to such as should reclaim them; and accordingly intimation was given to his Majesty's Advocate in the chief Court of Admiralty, by the Right Honourable Sir *John Cook* Knight, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for the freeing and discharging the said Ship and Goods in the said Court of Admiralty: And afterwards, (that is to say) on the six and twentieth of *January* last, it was decreed in the said Court by the Judge thereof, with the Consent of the said Advocate, that the said Ship, with whatsoever Goods so seized on, or taken in her, (except three hundred *Mexico* Hides, sixteen Sacks of Ginger, one Box of gilded Beads, five Sacks of Ginger more, mentioned in the said Decree) should be clearly released from further Detention, and delivered to the Master; and thereupon under Seal, a Commission was in that behalf, duly sent out of the said Court to Sir *Allen* Appesly,

Appesly, Sir *John Worstenholme*, and others, for the due Execution thereof: The said Duke, notwithstanding the Order, Commission, and Decree, detained still to his own Use, the said Gold, Silver, Pearls, Emeralds, Jewels, Monies, and Commodities so taken out of the said Ship, as aforesaid: And for his own singular Avail and Covetousness, on the sixth day of *February* last, having no Information of any new Proof, without any legal Proceeding, by Colour of his said Office, unjustly caused the said Ship and Goods to be again arrested and detained, in publick Violation and Contempt of the Laws and Justice of this Land, to the great disturbance of Trade, and prejudice of the Merchants.

These two Articles were enlarged on, by Mr. *Selden*.

ARTICLE VI.

His extorting ten thousand Pounds from the East-India Company, with the Abuse of the Parliament.

WHEREAS the Honour, Wealth, and Strength of this Realm of *England*, is much encreased by the Traffick, chiefly of such Merchants as imploy, and build, great Warlike Ships; a Consideration that should move all Counsellors of State, especially the Lord Admiral, to cherish and maintain such Merchants.

The said Duke abusing the Lords of the Parliament, in the twenty first Year of the late King *James*, with pretence of serving the State,

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did oppress the *East-India* Merchants, and extorted from them ten thousand Pounds, in the subtil and unlawful manner following.

About *February*, in the Year aforesaid, he, the said Duke, hearing some good Success that those Merchants had at *Ormus*, in the Parts beyond the Seas, by his Agents cunningly, in or about the Month aforesaid, endeavoured to draw from them some great Sum of Money, which their Poverty, and no gain by that Success at *Ormus*, made those Merchants absolutely to deny: Whereupon the Duke perceiving, that the said Merchants were then setting forth, in the course of their Trade, four Ships and two Pinnaces laden with Goods of great Value, and like to loose their Voyage if they did not speedily depart: The said Duke, on the first of *March* following, did move the Lords then assembled in the said Parliament, whether he should make Stay of any Ships which were then in the Ports (as being High Admiral he might) and namely those Ships prepared for the *East-India* Voyage, which were of great Burthen, and well furnished: Which Motion being approved of by their Lordships, the Duke did stay those Ships accordingly. But the fifth of *March* following, when the Deputy of that Company, with other of those Merchants, did make suit to the Duke for the Release of the said Ships and Pinnaces: The Duke said he had not been the Occasion of their Staying, but having heard the Motion of the House of Lords, he could do no less than give the Order they had done; and therefore he willed them to set down the Reasons of their Suit, which he would acquaint the House withal,

al, yet in the mean Time, gave them leave to let their said Ships fall down as low as *Tilbury*. And the tenth of *March* following, an unusual joint Action was, by his Procurement entered in the chief Court of Admiralty, in the Name of the said late King, and of the Lord High Admiral, against them, for fifteen thousand Pounds, taken pyratically by some Captains of the said Merchant Ships, and pretended to be in the Hands of the *East-India* Company; and thereupon the King's Advocate moved, and obtained one Attachment, which by the Serjeant of the said Court of Admiralty was served upon the Merchants in their Court, the sixteenth of *March* following. Whereupon the said Merchants were urged the next Day, to bring in the fifteen thousand Pounds into the Court of Admiralty, or go to Prison. Wherefore, immediately the Company of the said Merchants did again send their Deputy, and some others, to make new Suit unto the said Duke, for the Release of the said Ships and Pinnaces, who unjustly endeavouring to extort Money from the said Merchants, protested, that the Ships should not go, except they compounded with him; and when they urged many more Reasons for the Release of the said Ships and Pinnaces, the Answer of the said Duke was, That the then Parliament must first be moved. The said Merchants therefore being in this Perplexity, and in their Consultation the twenty third of that Month, were even ready to give over that Trade, yet considering that they should loose more than was demanded, by unlading their Ships, besides their Voyage, they resolved to give the said Duke ten thousand

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Pounds

Pounds for his unjust Demands. And he, the said Duke, by the undue Means aforesaid, and under Colour of his Office, and upon false pretence of Rights, unjustly did exact and extort from the said Merchants, the said ten thousand Pounds, and received the same about the twenty eighth of *April*, following the Discharge of those Ships, which were not released by him till the said Merchants had yielded to give him the said Duke, the said ten thousand Pounds for the Release, and for the false Pretence of Rights made by the said Duke, as aforesaid.

A R T I C L E VII.

His delivering Ships into the Hands of the King of France.

WHereas the Ships of our Sovereign Lord the King, and of his Kingdoms aforesaid, are the principal Strength and Defence of the said Kingdoms, and ought therefore to be always preserved, and safely kept, under the Command, and for the Service, of our Sovereign Lord the King, no less than any of the Fortresses, and Castles of the said Kingdoms. And whereas, no Subject of this Realm ought to be dispossessed of any of his Goods, or Chattels, without Order of Justice, or his own Consent first duly had and obtained: The said Duke being Great Admiral of *England*, Governor-General, and Keeper of the said Ships and Seas, and therefore ought to have and take a special and continual Care and Diligence how to preserve the same; The said Duke in, or about the end of *July* last, in the first Year of
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of our Sovereign Lord the King, did, under the Colour of the said Office of Great Admiral of *England*, and by indirect and subtil Means and Practices, procure one of the principal Ships of his Majesty's Navy-Royal, called the *Vant-guard*, then under the Command of Captain *John Pennington*, and six other Merchant Ships of great Burthen and Value, belonging to several Persons inhabiting in *London*, the natural Subjects of his Majesty, to be conveyed over, with all their Ordinance, Munition, Tackle, and Apparel, into, the Parts of the Kingdom of *France*, to the end that being there, they might the more easily be put into the Hands of the *French* King, &c. and taken into their Possession, Command, and Power: And accordingly the said Duke, did, by his Agents, with Menaces and other ill Practices, without Order of Justice, or Consent of the said Masters and Owners, unduly compel the said Masters and Owners of the six Merchant Ships, to deliver the said Ships into the Possession, Command and Power, of the said *French* King, his Ministers, and Subjects, and by reason of his Compulsion, and other indirect Practices, as aforesaid, the said Ships, as well as the Ship Royal of his Majesty, as the others belonging to the said Merchants, were their delivered into the Hands and Command of the said *French* King, his Ministers, &c. without sufficient Security or Assurance, for their re-delivery, or other necessary Caution taken in that behalf, either by the said Duke, or otherwise by his Direction, contrary to the Duty of the said Offices of Great Admiral, &c. (as in the foregoing Articles) to the great Loss of the Merchants, and against the

Liberty of the Subjects, of our Sovereign Lord the King, that are under the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.

A R T I C L E VIII.

That those Ships were, to his Knowledge, to be used against Rochelle.

THE said Duke, contrary to the Purpose of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his Majesty's known Zeal for the Advancement of the true Religion established in the Church of *England*, knowing that the said Ships were intended to be employed, by the *French* King, against those of the same Religion at *Rochelle*, and elsewhere, in the Kingdom of *France*; did procure the said Ship *Royal*, and compel the six other Ships, to be delivered unto the *French* King, &c. as aforesaid, to the end the said Ships might be employed against the Town of *Rochelle*, or those of the said Religion elsewhere in the Kingdom of *France*; and the said Ships were, and have been so employed by the said *French* King, &c. against them. And this the said Duke, did, contrary to his Duty as a Privy Counsellor, &c. and to the great Scandal and Dishonour of this Nation. And notwithstanding the Delivery of the said Ships, by his Procurement, as aforesaid, to be employed as aforesaid, the said Duke in a cunning manner, to mask his ill Intentions, did, at the Parliament held at *Oxford*, in *August* last, before the Committee of both Houses of Parliament, declare, that the said Ships were not, nor should be employed against those of the said Religion, as aforesaid, in Contempt of our Sovereign Lord
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the King, and in abuse of the said Houses of Parliament in Violation of that Truth which every Man should profess.

These three Articles were enlarged on by Mr. *Glanville*.

ARTICLE IX.

His Charge for compelling the Lord R— to buy Honour.

WHereas the Titles of Honour of this Kingdom of *England*, were wont to be conferred as great Rewards, upon such Virtuous Persons as had merited them by their faithful Services; the said Duke, by his importunate and subtle Procurement, had not only perverted that ancient and most honourable Way, but also unduly for his own particular Gain, hath enforced some that are rich, (tho' unwilling) to purchase Honour. As the Lord *R—* Baron of *T—*, who by Practice of the said Duke and his Agents, was drawn up to *London*, in or about *October*, in the twenty second Year of the late King *James*, and there so threatned and dealt withal, that he yielded to give, and did accordingly pay the Sum of ten thousand Pounds to the Duke, and to his Use, for which said Sum, the said Duke, in the Month of *January*, in the twenty second Year of the said late King, procured the Title of Baron *R—* of *T—* to the said Lord *R—*. In which Practice, as the said Lord *R—* was much wronged in this particular, so the Example tendeth to the Prejudice of the Gentry, and to the Dishonour of the Nobility of this Kingdom.

ARTICLE X.

His selling of Places of Judicature.

WHereas no Place of Judicature in the Courts of Justice of our Sovereign Lord the King, nor other like Preferments, ought to be procured by any Subject whatsoever, for any Reward, Bribe, or Gift; he the said Duke, in or about the Month of *December*, in the eighteenth Year of the Reign of the late King *James*, did procure of the said King the Office of High Treasurer of *England*, to the Lord Viscount *M——* now Earl of *M——* which Office, at his Procurement, was given and granted to the Lord Viscount *M——*. And as a Reward for the said Procurement, of the Grant, he the said Duke, did then receive to his own Use, the Sum of twenty thousand Pounds of lawful Money of *England*. And also in or about the Month of *January* in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of the said late King, did procure of the said late King, the Office of Master of the Wards and Liveries, to and for Sir *L—— C——* afterwards Earl of *M——*; which Office was given and granted to the said Sir *L—— C——*; and as a Reward for the same Procurement, he the said Duke, had to his own Use, or to the Use of some other Person by him appointed, of the said Sir *L—— C——*, the Sum of six thousand Pounds of lawful Money of *England*, contrary to the Dignity of our Sovereign Lord the King, and against the Duty that should have been performed by the said Duke to him.

These two Articles were enlarged on by Mr. *Pym*.
ARTICLE

ARTICLE XI.

His procuring of Honours for his poor Kindred.

THAT he, the said Duke, hath, within these ten Years last past, procured divers Titles of Honour to his Mother, Brothers, Kindred, and Allies; as the Title of Countess of *Buckingham* to his Mother, while she was *Sir Thomas Compton's* Wife: The Title of Earl of *Anglesey* to his younger Brother *Christopher Villiers*; The Titles of Baron of *M—* *P—* Viscount *F—*, and Earl of *D—* to his Sister's Husband, *Sir W— F—* the Titles of Baron of *S—*, and Viscount *P—* to *Sir John Villiers*, elder Brother unto the said Duke; and divers more of the like kind to his Kindred and Allies: Whereby the noble Barons of *England*, so well deserving in themselves, and in their Ancestors, have been much prejudiced, and the Crown disabled to reward extraordinary Virtues in future Times with Honour; while the small Estates of those, for whom such unnecessary Advancement hath been procured, are apparently likely to be more and more burthensome unto the King, notwithstanding such Annuities, Pensions, and Grants, of Lands annexed to the Crown, of great Value, which the said Duke hath procured for those his Kindred, to support these their Dignities.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XII.

His imbezelling and engrossing the King's Money and Lands.

HE, the said Duke, not contented with the great Advancement formerly received from the late King, by his Procurement and Practice, in the fourteenth Year of the said King, for the Support of the many Places, Honours, and Dignities conferred on him, did obtain a Grant of divers Mannors, parcel of the Revenue of the Crown, and of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, to the yearly value of one thousand six hundred and ninety seven Pounds, two Shillings, and three Farthings of the old Rent, with all Woods, Timber, Trees, and Advowson; part whereof amounting to the Sum of seven hundred forty seven Pounds thirteen Shillings and four-Pence was rated at thirty two thousand Pounds, but in Truth, of a far greater Value. And likewise in the sixteenth Year of the same King's Reign, did procure divers other Mannors annexed to the Crown, of the yearly Value, at the old Rent, of twelve hundred Pounds, or thereabouts, as by Schedule hereunto annexed, appeareth: In the Warrant for passing of which Lands, he, by his great Favour, procured divers unusual Clauses to be inserted, (*viz.*) That no Perquisites of Courts should be valued, and that all Bailiff's Fees should be reprised in the Particulars upon which those Lands were rated, &c. and afterwards he surrendered to his said Majesty, divers Mannors and Lands, parcel of those Lands formerly granted unto

unto him, to the Value of seven hundred twenty three Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and two-pence half-penny *per Annum*; in Consideration of of which Surrender, he procured divers other Lands of the said late King to be sold and contracted for, by his own Servants and Agents; and thereupon hath obtained Grants of the same to pass from his late Majesty to several Persons of this Kingdom, and hath caused Tallies to be stricken for the Money, being the Consideration mentioned in those Grants in the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, as if any such Monies had really come to his Majesty's Coffers; whereas the Duke, (or others by his Appointment) hath received the said Sums, and expended them upon his own Occasions. And notwithstanding the great and inestimable Gain, by him made, by the Sale of Offices, Honours, and by other Suits by him obtained from his Majesty, and for the countenancing divers Projects and other Courses, burthensome to his Majesty's Realms, both of *England* and *Ireland*: The said Duke hath likewise, by his Procurement and Practice, received, and disbursed to his own Use, great Sums that were the Monies of the late King, as appeareth also in the said Schedule hereunto annexed. And the better to colour his Doings in that behalf, hath obtained several Privy-Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the Payment of great Sums to Persons by him named, causing it to be recited in such Privy Seals, as if those Sums were directed for secret Services concerning the State, which were, notwithstanding, disposed of to his own Use, and other Privy Seals have been by him procured,
for

for the Discharge of those Persons without Accompt. And by the like Fraud and Practice, under colour of free Gifts from his Majesty, he hath gotten into his Hands great Sums which were intended by his Majesty to be disbursed for the preparing, furnishing, and victualling of the Royal Navy; by which secret and colourable Devices, the constant and ordinary Course of the *Exchequer* hath been broken; there being no Means, by Matter of Record, to charge either the Treasurer or Victualler of the Navy, with those Sums which ought to have come to their Hands, and to be accounted for to his Majesty. And such a Confusion and Mixture hath been made between the King's Estates and the Duke's, as cannot be cleared by the legal Entries and Records, which ought to be truly and faithfully made and kept, both for the Safety of his Majesty's Treasure, and for the Indemnity of his Officers and Subjects whom it doth concern. And also in the sixteenth Year of the said King, in the twentieth Year of the said King, he did procure to himself several Releases from the said King of divers great Sums of Money, of the said King, by him privately received, and which he procured, that he might detain the same for the Support of his Places, Honours, and Dignities. And these Things, and divers others of the like kind, as appeareth in the Schedule annexed, hath he done to the Diminution of the Revenue of the Crown, and in Deceit both of our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and of the late King *James*, of famous Memory, and to the detriment of the whole Kingdom.

These

These two Articles were enlarged on by Mr.
Sherland.

A R T I C L E XIII.

*This last Article was his Presumption in giving Physick to King James. As this Article was the least insisted on, I shall abridge it, as short as possible *.*

IT sets forth the sacred Persons of Sovereigns, and of the Care which ought to be taken of them, especially in Sickness; and that our late Sovereign King *James*, was, in the Month of *March*, in the twenty second Year of his Reign seized with an Ague and Fever; That the Physicians, after several Consultations had resolved and given warning to the Gentlemen and other Servants of his Majesty's

* Notwithstanding the little Strefs laid on this Article, by the Majority of the Commons, who could not be induced to believe, that the Duke in Policy, as well as Honour, could, or would, attempt the prescribing of any Physick, &c. which he apprehended would be the least injurious to the Health of so Royal and Indulgent a Master, who had not only heaped such Honours on him, but had always protected him from the Resentment of the Commons; yet the Rump Parliament, in an infamous Declaration published by them against K. *Charles I.* February 2. 1647. Containing Reasons for Support of their Resolutions of *making no further Addresses or Application to the King*, assign this very Article, as their chief Charge against him, and insinuate his Majesty's being concerned with *Buckingham*, in the Murder of his Royal Father; which Reasons were answered by the Earl of *Clarendon*. Vide a curious Collection of valuable Pieces, by the Earl of *Clarendon*, Printed for *J. Wilford*, 1727.

jeſty's Bed-Chamber, that no Meat or Drink whatſoever ſhould be given to his Maſteſty, but at ſuch certain Times as they had appointed, and ordered. Notwithſtanding which the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was a ſworn Servant of his late Maſteſty, and in his ſaid Maſteſty's Bed-Chamber, who had heard the warning as aforementioned, did procure certain Plaſters, and a certain Drink or Potion to be provided for the Uſe of his ſaid Maſteſty, without the Direction or Privy of the ſaid Phyſicians, &c. compounded of ſeveral Ingredients to them unknown. And notwithstanding the Proteſtations of the ſaid Phyſicians, againſt the uſing ſuch Plaſters, &c. yet the ſaid Duke, by colour of ſome inſufficient and ſlight Pretences, did, upon *Monday* the one and twentieth Day of *March*, aforeſaid, cauſe the ſaid Plaſters to be applied to the Breſt and Wrifts of his ſaid late Maſteſty. And then alſo at, and in his Maſteſty's Fit of the ſaid Ague, the ſaid *Monday*, and at ſeveral Times within two Hours before the coming of the ſaid Fit, &c. did deliver, and cauſe to be delivered, ſeveral Quantities of the ſaid Drink, or Potion, to his ſaid late Maſteſty, and did procure his ſaid Maſteſty, to take divers Quantities of the ſaid Drink or Potion.

After which ſaid Plaſters, and Drink, or Potion, applied and given unto his ſaid Maſteſty, as aforeſaid, divers ill Symptoms appeared upon his ſaid Maſteſty, inſomuch that the Phyſicians finding his Maſteſty the next Morning, much worſe in the Eſtate of his Health, and holding a Conſultation there-about, did, by joint Conſent, ſend to the ſaid Duke,
praying

praying him not to adventure to administer to his Majesty any more Physick, without their Allowance and Approbation. And his said Majesty finding himself much diseased and affected with Pain and Sicknes, after his then Fit, did attribute the Cause of such his Trouble, unto the said Plaister and Drink, which the Duke had so given him. Which said adventurous Act, by a Person obliged in Duty and Thankfulness, done to the Person of so great a King, and accompanied with so unhappy Event, may justly be called, and is, by the said Commons, deemed to be an Act of transcendent Presumption, and of dangerous Consequence.

This last Article was enlarged by Mr. *Wandesford*.

The severall Articles having been enlarged and aggravated by the said respective Members, Sir *John Elliot* was appointed to make the *Epilogue* to the Impeachment, who spake as follows,

My Lords,

“ YOUR Lordships have heard, in the Labours of these two Days spent in this
 “ service, a Representation from the Knights,
 “ Citizens,

“ Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Commons
 “ Houſe of Parliament, of their *Apprehenſion*
 “ of the preſent Evils and Dangers of this
 “ Kingdom, of the *Causes* of the ſame; and
 “ of the *Application* of them to the Duke of
 “ *Buckingham*, ſo clearly and fully, as I pre-
 “ ſume your Lordſhips expect I ſhould rather
 “ conclude, than add any Thing to his Charge.
 “ Your Lordſhip’s have heard how his *Am-*
 “ *bition* was expreſſed in procuring, and get-
 “ ting into his Hands, the greateſt Offices of
 “ Strength and Power of this Kingdom; by
 “ what Means he had attained them, and how
 “ MONEY ſtood for MERIT.

“ There needs no Argument to prove this,
 “ but the common Senſe of the Miſeries and
 “ Misfortunes which we ſuffer; adding but
 “ one, the Regality of our narrow Seas, the
 “ ancient Inheritance of our Princes, loſt or
 “ impeached.

“ This I need not further to preſs, but
 “ from hence my Obſervation muſt deſcend
 “ to his other Virtues, and that by way of
 “ Perspective: I ſhall give it ſo near and ſhort,
 “ as rather to exerciſe your Lordſhip’s Me-
 “ mory, than to oppreſs your Patience.

“ *First*, I propoſe unto your Lordſhips,
 “ the *inward Character* of the Duke’s Mind,
 “ which is full of *Colluſion* and *Deceit*; I can
 “ expreſs it no better than by the Beaſt, called
 “ by the Ancients *Stellionatus*; a Beaſt ſo
 “ blurr’d, ſo spotted, ſo full of foul Lines,
 “ that they knew not what to make of it:
 “ So do we find in this Man’s Practice, who
 “ firſt inveigled the *Merchants*, drawing them to
 “ *Diep* to be inthralled; then dealt deceitfully
 with

“ with the King to colour his Offences, his
 “ Design being against *Rochelle*, and the Re-
 “ ligion: Next with the Parliament, to dis-
 “ guise his Actions; a Practice no less dan-
 “ gerous and disadvantageous to us, than pre-
 “ judicial to our Friends and Allies.

“ Next I present to your Lordships the
 “ Duke's *high Oppression*, and that of strange
 “ Latitude and Extent, not to *Men* alone,
 “ but to *Laws* and *Statutes*, to *Acts* of Coun-
 “ cil, to *Pleas* and *Decrees* of Court, to the
 “ Pleasure of his Majesty, all must stoop to
 “ him if they oppose or stand in his Way.
 “ This hath been expressed to you in the
 “ Ship called the *St. Peter*, and those of *Diep*;
 “ nay, he calls on the colour of his Majesty's
 “ great Name to shadow his Design.

“ It had been his Duty, nay, the rest of
 “ the Place, not to have translated them into
 “ the Hands of Strangers; that had his Ma-
 “ jesty yielded in that Point, the Duke should
 “ have opposed it by his continual Prayers
 “ and Intercessions, making known unto his
 “ Majesty the Inconveniencies likely to ensue,
 “ and not to rest there, but to have reported
 “ it to your Lordships sitting in Council; to
 “ have desired and prayed your Aid and Affi-
 “ stance, in a Matter of so great Importance:
 “ And if this had failed, he should have en-
 “ tered into a Protestation against it: This
 “ hath been done by worthy Predecessors in
 “ that Office, and this hath been the worthy
 “ discharge of the great Trust reposed in his
 “ Place.

“ I heard the Ships were returned, but I
 “ know it not ; but if I knew so, this neither
 “ excuseth, nor qualifyeth the Duke's Offence.
 “ The *French* in this Case, are to be com-
 “ mended, not he excused ; he left them
 “ in the Hands of a *Foreign Power*, who,
 “ when they once had them, for any thing
 “ he knew, might easily have kept them.

“ The third Head is, the Duke's *Extortion*,
 “ in exacting from the *East-India Company*,
 “ without Right or Colour, ten thousand
 “ Pounds, exquisitely expressed, and mathe-
 “ matically observed, by the Gentleman, (you
 “ know by whom employed) who by his ma-
 “ rine Experience, learned this Observation,
 “ that if the Fleet gained not the Wind by
 “ such Time at the *Cape*, the Voyage was
 “ lost.

*Here one of the Lords interposing privately, It
 was the King that employed him ;— Sir John
 Elliot, in the Name of the Commons, made
 this Protestation ;*

“ Far be it from them to lay an *Odium*, or
 “ Aspersion, on his Majesty's Name, they
 “ hold his Honour spotless, nor the least Sha-
 “ dow of blemish can fix upon him in this
 “ Business.

“ Next to the foul Extortion, is BRIBERY
 “ and CORRUPTION, in the Sale of *Honour*,
 “ and *Offices* of Command. That which was
 “ wont to be the Crown of Virtue and Merit,
 “ is now become a *Merchandize* for the *Great-
 ness* of this Man, and *Justice* itself, made a
 “ Prey

“ Prey unto him. All which Particulars your
 “ Lordships have heard opened, and enforced
 “ with Reasons and Proofs, what in themselves
 “ they are; and therefore I spare further to
 “ press them.

“ In the fifth Place, I observe a Wonder
 “ in Policy and in Nature, how *this Man*, so
 “ *notorious* in Evil, so *dangerous* to the State,
 “ in his *immense Greatness*, is able to subsist
 “ of himself, and keep a Being: To this I
 “ answer; That the Duke hath used the help
 “ of ART to prop him up: It was apparent,
 “ that by his Skill, he hath raised a *Party* in
 “ the *Court*, a *Party* in the *Country*, and a
 “ MAIN-PARTY in the chief Places of Go-
 “ vernment in the Kingdom: So that all the
 “ most deserving Offices, that require Abili-
 “ ties to discharge them, are fixed upon the
 “ the DUKE, his ALLIES, and *Kindred*. And
 “ thus hath he drawn to him and his, the
 “ *Power* of JUSTICE, the *Power* of HONOUR,
 “ and the *Power* of COMMAND; and in effect,
 “ the whole POWER of the KINGDOM, both
 “ for Peace and War, to strengthen his Allies;
 “ and in setting up himself hath set upon the
 “ Kingdom's REVENUES, the *Fountain* of *Sup-*
 “ *ply*, and the *Nerves* of the Land.

“ He intercepts, consumes, and exhausts the
 “ Revenues of the Crown, not only to satisfy
 “ his own *lustful Desires*, but the Luxury
 “ of others; and by emptying the Veins,
 “ the Blood should run in, he hath cast the
 “ *Body* of the Kingdom into an high Con-
 “ sumption.

“ Infinite Sums of Money, and Mass of
 “ Land, exceeding the value of Money, Con-
 E 2 tributions

“ tributions in Parliament, have been heaped
 “ upon him, and how have they been em-
 “ ployed? Upon *costly Furniture, sumptuous*
 “ *Feasting, and magnificent BUILDING*, the vi-
 “ sible Evidences, of the express exhausting
 “ of the State: And yet his Ambition, which
 “ is boundless, resteth not here; but like a
 “ violent Flame, bursteth forth, and getteth
 “ further Scope: Not satisfied with Injuries,
 “ and Injustice, and the dishonouring of Re-
 “ ligion, his Attempts go higher, to the Pre-
 “ judice of his Sovereign, which is plain in
 “ his Practice. The Effects I fear to speak,
 “ and fear to think. I end this Passage, as
 “ *Cicero* did in a like Case, *Ne gravioribus utar*
 “ *verbis quam rei natura fert, aut levioribus*
 “ *quam causæ necessitas postulat.*

“ Your Lordships have an *Idea* of the Man,
 “ what he is in *himself*, what in his *Affections*.
 “ You have seen his *Power*, and some I fear
 “ have *felt* it; you have known his Practice,
 “ and have heard the Effects. It rests then to
 “ be considered, (what being such) he is, in
 “ reference to the King and State; how com-
 “ patible or incompatible with either. In re-
 “ ference to the KING, he must be stiled the
 “ CANKER in his *Treasure*; in reference to
 “ the STATE, the MOTH of all *Goodness*. What
 “ future hopes are to be expected, your
 “ Lordships may draw out of his Actions and
 “ Affections; I will now see, by comparison
 “ with others, to what we may find him like-
 “ ned; I can hardly find him a Match, or Pa-
 “ rallel, in all Precedents; none so like him
 “ as *Sejanus*, who is thus described by *Tacitus*,
 “ *Audax, sui obtigens, in alios criminator, juxta*
 “ *adulator & superbus.*

“ To

“ To say nothing of his Veneries, if you
 “ please to compare them; you shall easily
 “ discern wherein they vary; such boldness
 “ of the one, hath lately been presented be-
 “ fore you, as very seldom, or never hath
 “ been seen. For his secret Intentions and
 “ Calumniation, I wish this Parliament had
 “ not felt them, nor the other before.
 “ For his *Pride* and *Flattery*, it is noted of
 “ *Sejanus*, that he did, *Clientes sups Provinciis*
 “ *adornare*; Doth not this Man the like? Ask
 “ *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and they
 “ will tell you. *Sejanus's* Pride was so ex-
 “ cessive, as *Tacitus* saith; He neglected all
 “ Council, mixed his *Business* and *Service* with
 “ the Prince, seeming to confound their *Ac-*
 “ *tions*, and was often stiled *Imperatoris la-*
 “ *borum Socius*. How lately, and how often,
 “ hath this Man commixed his *Actions* and
 “ *Discourses*, with *Actions* of the Kings?

“ My Lords, I have done; you see the Man;
 “ only this which was conceived by the Knights,
 “ Citizens and Burgeesses should be boldly by
 “ me spoken; That by Him came all these
 “ *Evils*, in Him we find the *Cause*, and on
 “ Him we expect the Remedies; and to this
 “ we met your Lordships in Conference;
 “ to which, as your Wisdom invites us, so
 “ we cannot doubt, but in your Lordships
 “ Wisdom, Greatness, and Power, we shall
 “ in due Time find Judgment as he deserves.

“ I conclude, by presenting to your Lord-
 “ ships the particular Censure of the Bishop
 “ of *Ely*, reported in the 11th *Rich. I.* and
 “ to give you a short View of his Faults.
 “ He was first of all noted to be *luxurious*.

“ Secondly, He married his own Kindred to Per-
 “ sonages of highest Rank and Place; Thirdly,
 “ No Man’s Business was done without his
 “ Help; Fourthly, He would not suffer the
 “ the King’s Council to advise in Matters of
 “ State; Fifthly, He grew to such a height of
 “ Pride, that no Man was thought worthy
 “ to speak unto him: and, lastly, His Castles,
 “ and Forts of Trust, he did *obscuris & ig-*
 “ *notis hominibus tradere.* His Doom was this,
 “ *Per totam Insulam publice proclamatur, pereat*
 “ *qui perdere cuncta festinat, opprimatur ne om-*
 “ *nes opprimat.*

The next Day May the 11th, Sir Dudley
 Diggs and Sir John Elliot, for their several
 Speeches, were both, by the King’s Command
 committed Prisoners to the Tower.

*And the same Day the King came to the
 House of Lords, and made the following
 Speech in Behalf of the Duke.*

My Lords,

“ THE Cause, and only Cause, of my
 “ coming to you this Day, is to express
 “ the Sense I have of all your Honours; for he
 “ that toucheth any of you, toucheth me in
 “ a very great Measure. I have thought fit
 “ to take Order for the punishing some inso-
 “ lent Speeches lately Spoken. I have been too
 “ remiss heretofore in punishing such Speeches
 “ as concern my self; not that I was greedy
 “ of their Monies, but that *Buckingham*, thro’
 “ his Importunity, would not suffer to take
 “ notice

“ notice of them, lest he might be thought
 “ to have set me on, and that he might come
 “ the forwarder to his Trial. And to approve
 “ his Innocency, as touching the Matters
 “ against him, I my self can be a Witness to
 “ clear him in every one of them.

“ I speak not this to take any Thing out
 “ of your Hands; but to shew the Reason why
 “ I have not hitherto punished those insolent
 “ Speeches against my self. And now I hope
 “ you will be as tender of my Honour, when
 “ Time shall serve, as, I have been sensible of
 “ yours.

After the delivery of this Speech, his Majesty
 was pleased to depart. But the Commons
 being enraged that the Duke was not under
 Confinement, notwithstanding his Impeach-
 ments in both Houses, sent the following
 Message the same Day to the Lords, by Sir
Nathaniel Rich.

“ The Commons taking into serious Confi-
 “ deration, the main Mischiefs and Inconve-
 “ niencies which this renowned Kingdom doth
 “ now suffer, threatening apparent Danger to
 “ the King and the Commonwealth, have, by
 “ Search and Disquisition into the Causes there-
 “ of, found that they do principally flow from
 “ the exorbitant Power, and the abusive Car-
 “ riage of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, where-
 “ of he hath this Parliament been impeached
 “ before their Lordships, by the Commons, be-
 “ sides an Accusation of a Peer * in their own
 E 4 “ House,

* The Earl of *Bristol.*

“ House, who hath charged him (as they are
 “ informed) of High-Treason: They there-
 “ fore, with one Voice, make an intire Decla-
 “ ration; That they hold it a Thing of dan-
 “ gerous Consequence, both for the present
 “ and future Times, That a Man of so great
 “ Eminence, Power, and Authority, being
 “ impeached and accused of such high Crimes
 “ and Offences, should yet enjoy his Liberty,
 “ hold so great a Part of the Strength of
 “ the Kingdom in his Hands, fit as a Peer
 “ in Parliament, and be acquainted with the
 “ Councils thereof, whereby inevitable Mis-
 “ chief may suddenly fall upon the Kingdom.
 “ Wherefore they have thought it their Duty
 “ to recommend this their unanimous Desire,
 “ to their Lordships, as agreeable to Law and
 “ Reason, That they would be pleased, forth-
 “ with to commit the Person of the said Duke
 “ to close Custody.

Notwithstanding this Remonstrance from
 the Commons, and an Impeachment of High-
 Treason against him by the Earl of *Bristol*,
 in this very Parliament, touching his Conduct
 in *Spain*, when there with the Prince in the
 Reign of King *James I.* treating of a Marriage
 with the *Infanta*, as before-mentioned, yet
 the Duke enjoyed his Liberty, while the said
 Earl, who likewise stood impeached by the
 King for his Conduct in *Spain*, was kept a
 close Prisoner.

The next Day the Commons were so dis-
 gust at the Imprisonment of two of their
 Members for the afore-mentioned Speeches,
 in impeaching the Duke, that they resolved
 to proceed on no other Business, till they
 were

were righted in their Liberty; and ordered that the House be turned into a grand Committee presently, to sit, and consider of the best way and means to effect the same; and that no Member be suffered to go forth. At which Time, Sir *Dudly Charlton*, observing, as he termed it, an unusual Silence, made a long learned Speech, to soften the Resentment of the Commons, wherein he observed, that there were eight Members chosen to deliver the Charge against the Duke, but there were only six employed for that Purpose, insomuch to that were no Exceptions. But as for Sir *Dudly Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, (says he) they had over-acted their Parts, and exceeded their Commissions, by their over bitterness in aggravating the Charge in the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*.

Sir *Dudly Diggs* being charged, for saying, in the Matter of applying the Plaister to his Majesty: *That he did forbear to speak further of that, in regard of the King's Honour*, or Words to that Effect, There passed a Protestation of every Man in particular for himself, by Order of the House of Commons, and it was ordered in the House, That those Members that were sick in the Town, should have three of the House sent to them to take the following Protestation likewise.

“ I protest before Almighty God and this
 “ House of Parliament; that I never gave
 “ Consent that Sir *Dudly Diggs* should speak
 “ these Words he is now charged withal, or
 “ any Words to that Effect; And I have not
 “ affirmed to any, That he did speak such
 “ Words, or any to that Effect.

Sir *Dudly Diggs* was presently after released, and himself made the same Protestation, &c. but the Duke was not satisfied, though thirty six Lords present at the Conference, protested they heard not the Words.

Sir *John Elliot* being also released from the Tower, on his coming into the House of Commons, The Vice Chamberlain spake as follows,
 “ That the other Managers had used respective
 “ Words in the Conference, but that he conceived his Speech was too tart and harsh to
 “ the Person of the Duke ; and that in representing a Character of his Mind, by comparing him with a strange Beast, he had
 “ out gone his Commission, and likewise as if he was ignorant of the *Ships returning from France*. That speaking of the Duke,
 “ he said, *That Man* ; which is accounted an Indignity to a Person of Honour, That he
 “ made scandalous Comparisons, between the Duke and *Sejanus*, and the Bishop of *ELY*,
 “ which was besides his Charge, That he brake off *Ambiguously* and *Abruptly* ; with a Sentence of *Cicero*’s, as if something else might
 “ be, which was not yet discovered.

To which Sir *John* boldly made the following Answer ;

“ *First*, Considering the Duke’s *Plurality*
 “ of great and different *Offices*, together with
 “ his *Deceit* and *Fraud*, in persuading the Merchants to go to *Diepe*, there to entrap them ;
 “ in colouring the Designs to the King, which
 “ he had plotted to serve against those of his
 “ Religion ;

Religion ; in abusing the Parliament at Oxford, and disguising his Purpose, as if the Ships were to go to *Rochelle* ; those Particulars being so various, and of such a Nature, he called by the Name of *Stellionatus*, from a Beast discoloured, uncertain, and doubtful, that they knew not by what Name to call it, or by what Colour to describe it, and these he called a Character of the Mind, because they lie in the Heart, and were Deceits to abuse the King and Parliament.

Secondly, As to his saying, *He knew not the Ships were come*, he answered, he did not know it then, and as yet he knew it not, though it was true that he heard it.

Thirdly, He denied not, That speaking of the Duke, he sometimes used this Word, *That Man*, though at other Times he was not wanting to give him his due Titles ; and said that the *Latins* speaking of *Cæsar*, called him *Ille Cæsar*, and that the same is usual in all Languages ; nor did he think the Duke to be a God.

Fourthly, He owned, that he parallel'd him with the Bishop of *Ely* and *Sejanus*, and though there were many particular Censures of that Bishop, yet he produced none but such as were within the Compass of his Charge, nor did he apply the Veneries and Venifices of *Sejanus* to the Duke, but excluded them.

Lastly, Touching the Physick of the King, he said, he brake off so abruptly in aggravation of the Duke's Offence, who not content with the Injury of Justice, the Wrong of Honour, the Prejudice of the

State.

“ State, nor that of the Revenue, his Attempts
 “ go higher, even to the Person of the King,
 “ making on that his Practice in such a Man-
 “ ner, to such an Effect, that he said, he fear-
 “ ed to speak, nay, he doubted to think ; in
 “ which Regard he left it, as *Cicero* did ano-
 “ ther Thing, *Ne gravioribus*, &c.

The Commons hereupon Vote, That Sir *Dudly Diggs*, Sir *John Elliot*, and the Rest, who managed the Impeachment had not exceeded their Commission,

The Reader may plainly perceive that all these Efforts, did not, in the least alienate his Majesty's Affections, but seemed to cement them stronger, in Favour of the Duke ; and his Grace being so Royally protected, was not in the least intimidated by his powerful Opponents ; another Instance of Royal Favour, follows, *viz.*

While the Duke stood charged in Parliament, the Chancellorship of *Cambridge* became void by the Death of the Lord *Howard*, Earl of *Suffolk* on *Whitsunday*, May 28. 1626. The University understood by several Hands, that it was the King's express Will and Pleasure, that the Duke should be chosen in his Stead ; and were ambitious and forward to express their Obedience to his Majesty : well knowing in Regard of their Multitude, Judgment, and Wisdom, which ought to be in those Electors, that such a Choice would be esteemed the most honourable Testimony of Worth and Integrity the Nation could afford : And that, as all other the Duke's Honours, did but help to sink him with their Weight, this would seem to shore, and prop him up. He

He (the Duke) pursuant to the King's Intention, was chosen the *Thursday* following the Death of his Predecessor, altho' fourteen Days are allowed by the University Statute: And notwithstanding divers Artifices were used by the Court, to discourage all Opponents, yet the Duke got it but by five Voices from the Earl of *Berkshire*, who had made no other Interest but what his Virtues had imprinted in the Breasts of those who voted for him.

The Commons being informed of the aforesaid Election at *Cambridge*, ordered a Letter to be written to that University, signifying their dislike thereof. But the King having Notice of their Intention, signified his Pleasure by Sir *Robert Weston*, That they forbear to send any such Letter, for that the Election had been made by the Power of the Charters, &c. of the University; and that if there were any Error, it belonged to his Majesty to examine and reform it, and not unto the House.

To which Message the Commons returned for Answer, " That they acknowledge they
 " were about to write to the University; be-
 " cause, That the very Election itself, whereby
 " the University is committed to the Govern-
 " ment of one that is charged, and publickly
 " complained of by the Commons in Parlia-
 " ment, whereof the Electors are a Part, is,
 " in it self, a very great Grievance, and pre-
 " judicial in Example; whereof they have
 " reason to be the more sensible, being in-
 " formed, that in the manner of the Election,
 " there were many Passages likewise done in
 " Contempt of the House; and that they had
 " no

no Intention of enlarging their own Power
and Jurisdiction, to the Diminution of his
Majesty's Right, or Pterogative.

His Majesty replies by the said Sir *Richard*
Weston, "That *Cambridge*, and all Corpora-
tions derive their Right and Privilege from
him, and that he hath reason to esteem the
Universities above any other, and is resolved
to defend them against any, who either wil-
fully, or by chance, shall go about to in-
fringe their Liberties. His Majesty is far
from conceiving the Election itself a Grie-
vance, for he never heard that Crimes ob-
jected were to be taken as proved, or, that
a Man should loose his Fame or good Opi-
nion in the World upon an Accusation only.
But if there were any Passages done in
it to the Contempt of the House; His Ma-
jesty is well pleased that they enquire and
punish the Offenders, if any have misbe-
hav'd themselves in that respect. But for
the Election itself, and the Form of it, his
Majesty doth avow his first Message.

Presently after, the Duke returns a very
complaisant Letter of Thanks to the Univer-
sity for electing him their Chancellor; and his
Majesty was also pleased to write a Letter of
Approbation (to the University) of the said
Election. Dated at *Westminster* the 6th of *June*
in the second Year of his Reign.

On the eighth of *June* the Duke gave in
his Answer to the Impeachment of the House
of Commons, and introduced it with a learned
Speech, but before the House could procure

a Copy of the Duke's Answer; His Majesty was pleased to order a Commission to pass under the Great Seal for dissolving the Parliament, which was done accordingly, *June 25. 1626.*

The Lords finding the King's Resolution to dissolve the Parliament, draw up a dutiful Petition to his Majesty humbly to persuade him to continue it longer; And the Commons being likewise apprehensive of it, draw up a long and severe Remonstrance against the Duke, wherein they particularly complain that they have not time to reply, according to the Laws of Parliament, nor to demand Judgment against him, and ordered every Member to take a Copy of it.

The King also, at the same time, publishes a Declaration of the Causes of assembling and dissolving the two last Parliaments, and issues a Proclamation against the Remonstrance of the House of Commons, which contained Reflections on their Prince's Honour, and of the Honour of his Father King *James*, and commands all Copies and Notes to be burnt, on pain of his Majesty's Indignation, &c.

After this, an Information was preferr'd in the Star Chamber against the Duke for applying the Plaister to King *James*, as mentioned in the last Article of his Charge, but it never came to a Hearing, as I shall observe in the Sequel.

I have been the more particular in impartially reciting the aforementioned Disputes, that every one may judge of the great Pains taken by their Majesties King *James*, and *Charles* the first, to screen their over-grown Minister, from the just Impeachment of the Commons, not
only

only by *Speeches*, &c. but by more extraordinary Steps, viz. *dissolving of Parliaments*. His Majesty, indeed, gives his Royal Word to the two Houses of the Duke's Innocence, which no doubt must have great Weight with his Loyal Subjects, but it would have redounded more to the Duke's Honour to have given himself sufficient Eviction of his Innocence to both Houses before they were dissolved, by standing the Test of his Impeachment, but his not doing it, was a sufficient indication of Guilt; and that his Answer was far from being Satisfactory to the Commons, appears plain from the following Passage of their Remonstrance before mentioned, viz.

“ But now at length, may it please your most
 “ Excellent Majesty, we have received from
 “ the Lords a Copy of the said Duke's Answer
 “ to our Charge transmitted against him;
 “ whereunto we shall presently, in such Sort
 “ reply, according to the Laws of Parliament,
 “ that unless his Power and Practice again,
 “ undermine our Proceedings, we do not doubt,
 “ but we shall, upon the same, have Judgment
 “ against him.

Thus I have, with all the Brevity possible, given you the present State of the Duke's Affairs, and notwithstanding, they seem so clogg'd, viz. by an Impeachment against him of High-Treason, in the House of Lords, by the Earl of *Bristol*, as before observed, and an Impeachment for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, in the House of Commons; yet, in the beginning of the Year 1627. on a War break-

ing out with *France*, did his Majesty again constitute the said Duke, by special Commission, to be Admiral, Captain General, and Governor of his Royal Fleet, with such Soldiers and Land Forces as shall be conveyed therein; with Power to lead and conduct the said Navy and Army, and with them to fight against his said Brother-in-law*, and his Sister's Enemies, or the Enemies of the Crown of *England*, and to advance to the Order of Knighthood such Persons employed in the Fleet, Forces, and Supplies, as by their Valour, Desert, and good Service in this Expedition, shall be thought fit, in his, the said Duke's Discretion, to merit the same.

On *June* the 27th, the Duke set sail from *Portsmouth*, (in order to the Relief of the *Palatinate*) with the said Fleet, consisting of one hundred Sail of Ships, whereof ten were of the Royal Navy, having on board about seven thousand Land Soldiers, and towards the latter end of *July*, the Fleet appeared before *Rochel*, who once much long'd for their coming, but now shut their Gates at their Appearance for their Relief and Succour, upon their own Intreaty.

The Duke of *Sobies*, (who had implor'd the King's Aid for the Protestants in *France*,) and Sir *William Beecher* landing, are admitted into *Rochel*; where, an Assembly being called, they were acquainted, that he had, in compassion to their Sufferings, and at their Desire, sent them Succours under his Admiral the Duke of *Buckingham*, and expected their Conjunction with his Forces, else protested,

F

his

* The Prince and Princess Elector *Palatine* and their Children.

his Master, the King of *Great Britain*, was acquit of all Engagements to them. This prevails but little; they only thanking the King of *Great Britain* for his Care of them; alledging, they could do nothing without the Consent of the rest of the Protestants, with whom they were in Union: But the chief Cause was, their Fear of the King of *France's* Army, who was upon their March towards them; and who likewise had a considerable Party in the Town, that opposed the other of the Duke of *Sobiez*, who tarrying in *Rochel* longer than he expected, the Duke of *Buckingham* lands the Army, not with their Advice, or as they at first agreed, on the Isle of *Oleron*, where the Forts and Forces were but thin and weak, but on the Isle of *Rbee*, which had a good Governour, Marquess *Toras*, and considerable Strength in it*.

As it is not my Design to launch into historical Narratives, foreign to my Purpose, I refer to the History of those Expeditions, for the particulars; and shall only observe (that I may not be thought defective in these Memoirs) the Duke miscarried in his Descent, and it was imputed to his ill Conduct: For, on the sixth of *October*, he attempted to storm the Forts and Citadel, but in vain; the Citadel having been reinforc'd with fresh Men and Provisions, which obliged the Duke to raise the Siege, and by skirmishing with the Enemy to secure his Retreat, occasioned the Loss of a great many Men; and in *November*, he returned to *England* with the remainder of his Men and Shipping.

On

* See the *Annals* of King *James* and King *Charles I.*

On the return of the Duke, numbers of Tongues and Pens were employed to cast a Blemish on his Conduct in the Isle of *Rhee*, and many were dissatisfied with the Civilities which passed between *Toras* and the Duke : Another great Cause of Complaint was, from the Mariners for their Pay, some being three Years in Arrears ; that thro' neglect of guarding the Seas, the Enemy came into our Harbours, survey'd our Rivers ; the Fishermen scarce daring to look out : A vast number of our *Ships* having been lost and taken within the said three Years, and no Satisfaction to the Owners : The *Merchants* cease to build more, because they were press'd for the King's Service, at a low rate, and even that not paid : The Sailors hide themselves for fear of being press'd, and our Enemies grow upon us daily, especially in the *Eastern* Countries.

The *Rockellers* likewise, who were now made too sensible of their Ingratitude, send over their Deputies, humbly praying further Assistance : Remonstrating, That their Necessities were very great ; their Magazines consum'd ; their Moneys spent ; the *French* Forces falling down apace to block them up totally by Land, and the Inhabitants reduc'd to small Allowances ; and that without further Assistance they must inevitably be lost. And what aggravated those Complaints, and caused a further Uneasiness of the People, during these Miscarriages abroad, was the imprisoning several Gentlemen for refusing Payment of the Loan, borrow'd on the Privy Seal, some of whose Names I shall mention, viz. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, and

George Radcliff, Esq; *Yorkshire* Gent. were remov'd out of the said County and imprison'd in *Kent*. *Sir Walter Earl*, and *Sir George Strangers*, *Dorsetshire* Gent. removed and imprisoned in the County of *Bedford*. *Sir Thomas Grantbam*, and several other *Lincolnshire* Gent. imprisoned in the County of *Dorset*. *Sir John Hevingham*, and others of *Suffolk*, secured in the County of *Somerset*. *Richard Knightly*, Esq; and others, of *Northamptonshire*, secured in *Wiltshire*. *Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston*, *Sir Harbottle Grimstone*, *William Corriton*, *John Hampden* Esqs; *Sir William Massam*, *Sir Edward Ayscough*, *Sir Francis Barrington*, *Sir Thomas Darnel*, *Sir John Corbett*, *Sir John Elliot*, and upwards of fifty more, were confined in distant Places from their Residence; and those who refused to submit to their Commitments, were made close Prisoners, either in the *Fleet*, *Marshalsea*, or *Gate-house*; many of whom moved to be bailed; and notwithstanding the learned Arguments for the Prisoners, by *Mr. Noy*, afterwards Attorney General, *Serjeant Bramston*, *Mr. Selden*, &c. They were all remanded back to Prison; and several of the inferior sort, on their Refusal to pay it, were press'd for Soldiers.

The Reader may now plainly perceive, that the many *Grievances* and *Impositions* complained of at home, since the Dissolution of the last Parliament, as I have observed, added to the *Miscarriages* and *Misconduct* abroad; the expending so much *Treasure*, and the losing so many *Men*, on so fruitless an *Expedition* (as it was called) and which, no doubt, aggravated the Complaints of the People; that very Expedition
to

to be solely conducted by a *Person*, who, it is plain, had incurred the Displeasure (as you perceive by his Impeachment) of the whole Representatives of the Kingdom; must put the Court under great Perplexity to find out Expedients for the healing so many Breaches as plainly appeared to be creeping into the Constitution: And the first Step they took, which, no doubt, was a very judicious one, was, to desire the Advice and Opinion of that able virtuous Statesman, Sir *Robert Cotton*, concerning the present Posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home; and *He*, with a Perspicuity peculiar to himself, review'd and observed the different Interest of the several Powers of *Europe*, especially as it regarded the Interest of *Great Britain*: Advises a proper Regimen to be observed in the Disposition of the Sea and Land Forces, in order to prevent their becoming burthensome to the Publick; observes the ill Consequences of levying Monies without Consent of Parliament, either by *Imposition*, or *Excise*, and the Disaffection generally attending it; and therefore advises the calling a Parliament immediately, as the only Means to *redress* our *Grievances*, and prevent a further Disaffection of the People: Proposes Expedients for removing the Differences between King and People; for settling Religion, and reconciling the Parliament to the Duke of *Buckingham*: He mentions next the Losses of Men, Munition and Honour, in the late Undertakings abroad, which (says he) the most temperate Spirits impute to want of Council, and the more sublime Wits, to Practice.

He next observes, the many hundred thousand

Pounds spent in the *Cadiz* Voyage against the Advice of Parliament, only to warn the King of *Spain* to be in Readiness, and to weaken our selves.—The spending of much Munition, Victuals, and Money, in Lord *Willoughby's* Journey, is (says he) counted an unthrifty Error in the *Director* of it. To disarm our selves in fruitless Voyages, may seem a Plot of Danger.—He fears, that such a Waste of publick Treasure, in fruitless Expeditions, will be an important Cause to hinder any new Supply in Parliament.—But (says he) that which is like to pass the deepest into their Disputes and Care, is the late Pressures they supposed to have been done upon the publick Liberty and Freedom of the Subject; in Commanding their Goods, without assent of Parliament, imprisoning and confining their Persons, without Cause declared; and that made good against them by the Judges lately: All which they are like to enforce as repugnant to any positive Laws, Institutions, and customary Immunities of this Commonwealth.

And (says he) these dangerous Distastes to the People, are not a little improved, by an unprecedented Course, as they conceive, of retaining an *Inland*, or STANDING ARMY in Winter Season, when former Times of general Fear, as in Eighty Eight, produced none such. And further makes them in their distracted Fears conjecture, it was raised wholly to subject their *Fortunes* to the *Will* of *Power* rather than of *Law*; and to make good some further *Breach* upon their *Liberties* and *Freedom*s at home, rather than defend them from any Force abroad.

This Great Man concludes with recommending a prudent Care for the Redress of these Grievances; and knowing the Influence the Duke had at Court, advises, that (in order to remove away a personal Distate of the Duke of *Buckingham*, amongst the People) that he might be pleased to appear the first Promoter of the calling a Parliament, and of the Satisfaction it shall please his Majesty at such Time to give to his People, which he could wish to be grounded by Precedent of his best and fortunate Progenitors.

These Reasons carried with them *such* Weight, that it was immediately agreed on to call a Parliament; and in order to soften the Minds of the People, an Order was issued by the King in Council to set at Liberty upwards of sixty Gentlemen of Note, beforementioned, who were under Confinement in several Counties, and in the several Prisons in and about *London*, for Non-payment of the Loans imposed on them without Consent of Parliament.

Orders were, at the same Time, issued out to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to use Moderation in the demanding of Loan-Money; and that other Discontents might be removed, the Lord Archbishop *Abbot*, who was under the Displeasure of the Court, for refusing to license Dr. *Sibthorp's* Sermon; (a Commission being granted to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Oxford*, *Rochester*, *Bath* and *Wells* to execute Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction.) The Earl of *Bristol*, who stood impeached by the Attorney General, by Order of the King, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, (who was in Disgrace for re-

fusing to proceed against the *Puritans*, and Non-Conformists, at the Request of Sir *John Lamb*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and others, for their holding unlawful Meetings, and pretended Fasts, and collecting Monies, contrary to Law under divers Pretences; the said Bishop saying he would not meddle against the *Puritans*, for he knew he should have no other Bishoprick; they might complain of them to the Council Table, if they would; for he was under a Cloud already, and had the Duke of *Buckingham* for his Enemy, and he would not draw the *Puritans* upon him, for he was sure they would carry all Things at last; with much more to the same Effect,) were summon'd to take their Seats in the House of Lords*.

On the 17th of *March* the King open'd the Session of Parliament, with a learned Speech; wherein he observes, "That he thought a Parliament, to be the ancient, speediest, and best way in this Time of common Danger, to give such Supply as to secure our selves, and to save our Friends from imminent Ruin: and (says his Majesty) if to maintain the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this State, and the just Defence of our Friends and Allies be not sufficient, then no Eloquence of Men or Angels will prevail." And reciting the Differences in the last Parliament, concludes thus; "I will only, says he, add one thing more, and then leave my Lord Keeper to make a short Paraphrase upon the Text I have delivered to you, viz. *To remember a Thing to the end we may forget it.*" The

* See the *Annals* of K. *James* and K. *Charles I.* pag. 208.

The Lord Keeper afterwards made a Speech pursuant to his Majesty's Direction, and laid before both Houses a State of Affairs abroad and at home, and concluded with pressing for speedy Supplies.

The 20th the House settled their grand Committees, and petition the King for a Fast.

The 22d was spent in opening the Grievances and State of the Kingdom, as *Billeting of Soldiers*, *Loans by Benevolences* and *Privy Seal*, and the *Imprisoning* several Gentlemen who refused to lend upon that Account; and notwithstanding bringing their *Habeas Corpus*, were remanded back to Prison. For these Causes the House did not incline to grant any Supply to his Majesty, till these Grievances were redressed. To which purpose, Sir *Francis Seymour* the same Day in a learned Speech open'd the *Grievances* of the Kingdom: " Wherein
 " he observ'd the unprecedented manner of
 " imprisoning Subjects for the Loan contrary
 " to Act of Parliament; and (says he) to
 " countenance these Proceedings, hath it not
 " been *preached* (or rather *prated*) in our Pul-
 " pits, that all we have is the King's *Jure Di-*
 " *vino*, say these *Time-servers*? They forsake
 " their own *Function*, and turn *ignorant States-*
 " *men*; we see how willing they will be
 " to change a good *Conscience* for a Bishop-
 " rick, and we see how easy it is for a Prince,
 " how just and good soever, to be abused, in
 " regard he must see with other Men's
 " Eyes, and hear with other Men's Ears.
 " Let us not flatter his Majesty; it is
 " too apparent to all the World, the King
 " and People suffer more now than ever.

“ His Majesty in his Affairs abroad, and his
 “ People in their Estates at home. But (says
 “ he) will you know the Reason of this; look
 “ back to the Actions of former Princes, and
 “ we shall find, that those Princes have been
 “ in the greatest Extremity, that have exact-
 “ ed most of their Subjects, and most unfor-
 “ tunate in the choice of their *Ministers*, and
 “ to have failed most in their Undertakings.
 “ Happy is that Prince, that hath those that
 “ are faithful of his Council: That which his
 “ Majesty wanted in the Management of his
 “ Affairs concerning *France* and *Spain*, I
 “ am clear (says he) was his want of *faithful*
 “ *Council* to advise: The Reason is plain, a
 “ Prince is strongest by *Faithful* and *Wise*
 “ *Council*; I would I could truly say, *such*
 “ have been employ’d abroad.” (He con-
 “ cludes with the following Question:) “ Shall
 “ it be accounted want of Duty in us to
 “ stand upon our Privileges, *hereditary* to
 “ us, and confirm’d by so many Acts of Par-
 “ liament, when the Subject shall have his
 “ Goods taken from him against his Will, and
 “ his Liberty against the Laws of the Land?”

He was seconded by Sir *Thomas Wentworth*
 and Sir *Edward Cook* in very learned Speeches.
 Sir *Robert Philips* spoke next, and made the fol-
 lowing Observations, *viz.* “ That he had read
 “ of a Custom amongst the *Romans*, that once
 “ every Year they had a solemn Feast for their
 “ *Slaves*, at which time they had *Liberty*, with-
 “ out *Exception*, to speak; thereby to ease
 “ their afflicted Minds, which being finish’d,
 “ they severally returned to their former Ser-
 “ vitude. This, says he, may with some
 “ Resemblance

“ Resemblance and Distance, well set forth
 “ our present Estate ; where now, after the
 “ Revolution of some Time, and grievous
 “ Suffrance of many *violent Oppressions*, we
 “ have (as those Slaves had) a Day of *Liberty*
 “ of *Speech*, but shall not hereafter (I trust be
 “ Slaves) for we are free: He observes further,
 “ that his Tongue falters to utter the Oppres-
 “ sions under which they groan ; such as *Acts*
 “ of *Power* against Law, and *Judgments of Law*
 “ against our *Liberties* ; *strange Instructions*, *vi-*
 “ *olent Exactions of Money*, thereupon, *Impri-*
 “ *sonment* of the Persons of such, who to deli-
 “ ver over to their Posterity, the Liberty they
 “ received from their Fore-fathers, (and law-
 “ fully were in Possession of) refused to lend ;
 “ the vast and unlimited Power of *Lieutenants*
 “ and their *Deputies*, in *Billetting of Soldiers*,
 “ making *Rates*, in granting Warrants for
 “ *Taxes*, as their Discretion guided them, and
 “ all against the Law, &c.

Several other learned Speeches were made
 on the same Complaints, by Mr. *Creswell* of
Lincoln's Inn, Mr. *Selden*, &c.

March 24. Mr. Secretary *Cook* renewed his
 Motion of Supplies for his Majesty, and that
 the Grievances be likewise taken into Consi-
 deration ; and the Day following, he tendered
 certain Propositions from the King touching
 the Supply.

Upon which, the House turned themselves
 into a Committee, “ Commanded *Edward*
 “ *Littleton Esq*; into the Chair, and ordered
 “ the Committee to take into Consideration,
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, in his Person
 “ and in his Goods, and also to take into Con-
 “ sideration

“ sideration his Majesty’s Supply.” In this Debate the Grievances were reduced to six Heads, as to our Persons,

1. *Attendance at the Council Board.* 2. *Imprisonment.* 3. *Confinement.* 4. *Designation for foreign Employment.* 5. *Martial Law.* 6. *Undue Proceedings in Matters of Judicature.*

The first Matter debated was the Subject’s Liberty in his Person (by Mr. *Creswell* of *Lincoln’s Inn*) in a long and learned Argument. The Case was of Sir *John Hevingham*, and others, imprison’d about Loan-Money, who brought their *Habeas Corpus*, had their Case argued, and were, nevertheless, remanded back to Prison, as before observ’d.

Mr. *Hackwell* resumes the Debate of the *Habeas Corpus*, which was concluded by Mr. *Selden* and Sir *Edward Cook* ; and the Question being put, it was resolved *Nemine Contradigente.*

I. “ That no Freeman ought to be detained
“ in Prison, or otherwise restrained, by the
“ Command of the King, Privy Council, or
“ any other ; unless Cause of the Commit-
“ ment be expressed, for which, by Law, he
“ ought to be committed, detained, or re-
“ strained.

II. “ That a Writ of *Habeas Corpus* may
“ not be denied, but ought to be granted to
“ every one detained in Prison, by the King,
“ Council, or any other.

III. “ That if a Freeman be detained in
“ Prison by the King, Privy Council, &c. no
“ Cause of such Detainer being expressed, he
“ ought to be bailed, or discharged.

IV. “ That it is the ancient and indubita-
“ ble

“ ble Right of every Freeman, that he hath
 “ a full and absolute Property in his Goods
 “ and Estate ; that no Tax, Tallage, Loan,
 “ Benevolence, or other like Charge, ought to
 “ be commanded, or levied by the King, or
 “ any of his Ministers, without common
 “ Consent, by Act of Parliament.

Then the Debate of the Supply was reas-
 sum'd ; some were of Opinion it ought not
 to be postponed ; others insisted that the Griev-
 ances and Supply go together, especially Ser-
 jeant *Hoskins*, who observ'd,

“ That knowing our own Right, we shall
 “ be better enabled to give——Two Legs go
 “ best together, (says he) our just Grievances,
 “ and our Supply, which he desires may not
 “ be separated ; for by presenting them toge-
 “ ther, they shall be both taken, or both re-
 “ fused.

Notwithstanding the Heats and Animosities,
 which the Complaints of Grievances had caused
 in the House of Commons, they resolved to en-
 able his Majesty, to go through his Designs, and
 perform his Engagements, for his Majesty's and
 the Kingdom's Honour ; and voted *Nem. Con.*
 five Subsidies, which the King took exceeding
 kind, and the Duke at the Council Table com-
 plimented his Majesty in an eloquent Speech
 on the Zeal of the House,

And now the Commons ordered, That a
 Committee of Lawyers do draw up a Bill,
 containing the Substance of *Magna Charta*,
 and other Statutes concerning the Liberty of
 the Subject, which they called the *Petition of*
Rights, and took up two whole Days : And af-
 ter many long and learned Debates and Con-
 ferences

ferences with the Lords concerning their Petition of Rights*, which were managed by Mr. *Glanville*, Sir *Edward Cook*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Littleton*, Sir *Dudly Diggs*, Sir *Henry Martin*, &c. it passed both Houses May 26. The Attorney General having made several Objections to the Argument, that was made by the Commons at the first Conference with the Lords, Sir *Edward Cook*, at the End of the Conference, made the following Speech;

“ I am to put your Lordships in mind,
 “ that you have the greatest Cause in Hand
 “ that ever came in the Hall at *Westminster*,
 “ or, indeed in any Parliament.

My Lords,

“ Your noble Predecessors, (whose Places
 “ you hold) were Parties to *Magna Charta*,
 “ so called for Weight and Substance, for
 “ otherwise many Statutes are greater in
 “ Bulk, as *Alexander*, a little Man, called
 “ *Magnus*, for his great Courage.

“ And you, my Lords the Bishops, are
 “ *Confulminare*, to thunder out your Excom-
 “ munications against all Infringers of *Magna*
 “ *Charta*, *Sententiæ latæ super Chartas*. All
 “ worthy Judges, who were worthy of their
 “ Places, had *Magna Charta* in great Estima-
 “ tion.

“ Now, as Justice hath a Sword, so it hath
 “ a Balance, *Ponderat hæc Causas percutit illa*
 “ *reos*; put therefore, my noble Lords, in the
 “ one Scale, seven Acts of Parliament, Re-
 “ cords, Precedents, Reasons, all that we
 “ speak, and that of 18 *Edw. III.* whereof I
 “ found

* See the *Annals* of the Reigns of K. J. and K. C. I.

“ found no Answer ; And in God’s Name put
 “ into the other Ballance Mr. Attorney his
 “ Wit, Learning, and great Endowments of
 “ Nature, and if he be Weight let him have
 “ it ; if we, then conclude with us. And
 “ therefore we desire you, in the Name of
 “ the Commonalty of *England*, represented in
 “ us, that we may have Cause to give God
 “ and the King Thanks for your Justice in
 “ complying with us.

June the second his Majesty came to the House, where the Petition was exhibited to his Majesty, by both Houses, and the King gave a satisfactory Answer to it, as was then thought in full Parliament, Article by Article.

But the next Day, the King’s Answer to the said Petition was read in the House, and seemed too scant, in regard of so much Expence of Time and Labour, as had been employ’d in contriving the Petition : Whereupon Sir *John Elliot* stood up and made a long Speech about Grievances, and ill Management, both abroad and at home. *

“ The Ignorance and Corruption (says he)
 “ of our Ministers ; Survey the Court, Survey the Country, the Church, the City, the Bar, the Bench, the Courts, the Shipping, the Lands, the Seas, all will yield variety of Proofs : The *Exchequer* is empty, the Reputation thereof gone, the ancient Lands are sold, the Jewels pawn’d, the Plate engaged, the Debt still great, almost all Charges, both extraordinary and ordinary by Projects, &c.

On

* Vid. Annal.

On *Tuesday* the fifth of *June*, another Message was brought from his Majesty by the Speaker, wherein his Majesty wished them to remember the Message he last sent them, by which he set a Day for the End of this Session; and he commanded the Speaker to let them know, that he will certainly hold that Day prefixed without Alteration; and because that cannot be, if the House entertain more Business of length, he requires them that they enter not into, or proceed with any new Business, which may spend greater Time, or which may lay any Scandal or Aspersions upon the *State Government*, or *Ministers* thereof.

This Message caused very great Surprise in the Commons House, and Sir *Robert Philips*, Sir *John Elliot* and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, expressed their Concern in their Speeches, That by their speedy Dissolution, they should not have it in their Power, to serve either King, or Country; they observing, that they had no design to asperse the Government, but to give his Majesty true Information of his and their Danger, and out of a necessity of Duty to their King, their Country, and to Posterity; but, (says Sir *Robert Philips*) we must now cease to be a Council, and I hear this with that Grief, as the saddest Message of the greatest Loss in the World: But let us still be wise, be humble, let us make a fair Declaration to the King.

“ Mr. *Wandesford* said, he was as full of
 “ Grief as others, but, says he, let us recollect our *English Hearts*, and not sit still,
 “ but do our Duties. Two Ways are proposed, to go to the Lords, or to the
 “ King.

“ King. I think it is fit we go to the King,
 “ for this doth concern our Liberties, and let
 “ us not fear to make a Remonstrance of our
 “ Rights: We are his Counsellors: There are
 “ *some Men*, which call *Evil*, *Good*, and *Good*,
 “ *Evil*; and *Bitter Sweet*: JUSTICE is now
 “ called *Popularity* and *Faction*.

Sir *Edward Cook* spoke next as follows;
 “ We have (says he) dealt with that Duty and
 “ Moderation, that never was the like, *Re-*
 “ *bus sic stantibus*, after such a Violation of
 “ the Liberties of the Subject; let us take
 “ this to Heart. In 30 *Edw. III.* Were they
 “ then in doubt in Parliament to name Men
 “ that misled the King? They accused *John*
 “ *de Gaunt*, the King's Son, the Lord *Latimer*,
 “ and Lord *Nevil*, for misadvising the King,
 “ and they went to the *Tower* for it; Now
 “ when there is such a Downfal of the State,
 “ Shall We hold our Tongues? How shall
 “ we answer our Duties to God and Men?
 “ 7 *Hen. IV. Parl. Rot. Numb. 31, 32.* 11
 “ *Hen. IV. Numb. 13.* there the Council are
 “ complained of, and removed from the King;
 “ they mew'd up the King, and dissuaded him
 “ from the Common Good; And why are
 “ we now retired from that way we were in?
 “ Why may we not name those that are
 “ the Cause of all our Evils? In 4 *Hen. III.*
 “ and 27 *Edw. III.* and 13 *Ric. II.* the Parli-
 “ ament moderateth the King's Prerogative,
 “ and nothing grows to Abuse, but this House
 “ hath Power to treat of it. What shall we
 “ do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do,
 “ God will not prosper us. I think the Duke

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“ of

“ of BUCKINGHAM is the Cause of all our
 “ Miseries ; and till the King be informed
 “ thereof, we shall never go out with Honour,
 “ nor sit with Honour here ; That Man is
 “ the Grievance of Grievances : Let us set
 “ down the Causes of all our Disasters, and all
 “ will reflect upon him. As for going to the
 “ Lords, that is not *via Regia*. Our Liberties
 “ are now impeached, we are concerned ; it
 “ is not *via Regia*, the Lords are not partici-
 “ pant with our Liberties.

Mr. *Selden* next advised, That a Declaration
 against the Duke be drawn under four Heads.
First, “ To express the Dutiful Carriage of
 “ the House towards his Majesty. *Secondly*,
 “ To tender their Liberties that are violated.
 “ *Thirdly*, To present what the Purpose of
 “ the House was to have dealt in ; *Fourthly*,
 “ That that Great Person, *viz.* the Duke, fear-
 “ ing himself to be questioned, did interpose,
 “ and cause this Distraction. All this time
 “ (said he) we have cast a Mantle on what
 “ was done last Parliament ; but now being
 “ driven again to look on that Man, let us
 “ proceed with that which was then well begun ;
 “ and let the Charge be renewed that was last
 “ Parliament against him, to which he made
 “ an Answer, but the Particulars were suffi-
 “ cient, that we might demand Judgment on
 “ that Answer only.

In Conclusion ; the House agreed upon se-
 veral Heads concerning Innovation in Religion ;
 the Safety of the King and Kingdom, Misgo-
 vernment and Misfortune of our late Designs,
 with

with the Causes of them. And whilst it was moving to be put to the Question, That the Duke of *Buckingham* shall be instanced to be the Chief and Principal Cause of all those Evils, the Speaker, Sir *John Finch*, (who after he had leave to go forth, went privately to the King,) brought the following Message,

That his Majesty commands they adjourn the House till to morrow Morning; and that all Committees cease in the mean Time: The same Message was at the same time signified by the Lord Keeper to the House of Peers.

June 7. The King came to the House of Lords, and the Commons being sent for, the Lord Keeper presented the humble Petition of both Houses, signifying to his Majesty, " That
 " the good Intelligence between his Majesty
 " and People, did much depend upon his Majesty's Answer, unto their Petition of Right
 " formerly presented: And the Lords Spiritual
 " and Temporal, &c. with unanimous Consent,
 " do now become most humble Suitors to his
 " Majesty, That he would be pleased to give
 " a clear and satisfactory Answer thereunto in
 " full Parliament.

The King replied, He thought he had given full Satisfaction before, but to avoid all Ambiguous Interpretations, he ordered them to read their Petition, and they should have an Answer that his Majesty was sure would please them.

The Petition was read, and this Answer returned: *Soit droit fait come il est desire. C. R.*

This, I am sure (said his Majesty,) is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first

Answer. And I assure you, my Maxim is, That the *People's Liberties strengthen the King's Prerogative*, and *the King's Prerogative is to defend the People's Liberties*. His Majesty further observ'd,

You see how ready I have shewed my self to satisfy your Demands, So that I have done my Part. Wherefore if this Parliament have not a happy Conclusion, the Sin is Yours, I am free from it.

At which the Commons were satisfied, and ordered all the grand Committees to cease, and that the House only proceed in the Grievances of most Moment, and so they fell upon the Commission of Excise; which was directed to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord High Treasurer, Lord President, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, Lord Steward of the Household, Lord Chamberlain, and to most of the Privy Council, Authorizing and appointing them speedily to consider of the best and easiest Ways and Means for raising of Monies, on the most important Occasions, to be done by Impositions, or otherwise as mentioned in the Commission. *

Sir Edward Cook observed the following Circumstances in the Commission, *First*, " That " it was after the Summons to the Parliament: " Sure, (said he) some thought the Parliament " would not be. *Secondly*, There is a Pudor in " it, was kept Secret, some Great Lords never " knew it. *Thirdly*, The End of it was *Excises*, for they are *Impositions*, and to be sure " he would have word (*otherwise*,) wherefore " his

“ his Advice was, to go up to the Lords, and
 “ desire a Conference, to complain of the Com-
 “ mission, and desire it may be cancelled, and
 “ if there be any Inrollment of it, to cancel
 “ that also, and that the PROJECTOR may be
 “ found out and punished.

A Conference was accordingly held with the Lords, which was managed by Sir *Edward Cook*, where their Lordships agreed with the Commons, *First*, That the Commission was contrary to Law, and ought to be cancelled. *Secondly*, That if it be inrolled, a Vote may be made of it. *Thirdly*, That the Warrant may be damned and destroyed. And *Fourthly*, That if the *Projector* could be found out, that some exemplary Punishment may be, according to Justice, inflicted on him.

I am drawing to the unhappy Catastrophe of the Duke, as well as to a Conclusion of the Session of this Famous Parliament; in reviewing of which, I have avoided Prolixity as much as possible; but the foregoing Speeches, Debates, and Messages being so remarkable, and having a regard chiefly to the Person and Conduct of the Duke, they tenaciously persevering in fixing the Cause of all their Misfortunes on him, that the Memoirs I proposed must have been imperfect, had I omitted them.

And now the Commons resolve to name the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Power with the King, to be their *greatest Grievance*, and the Cause of all the Evil the Kingdom laboured under; viz. *Not guarding the Seas, decay of Trade, Disasters of our Armies, &c.**

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* Annals.

Sir Robert Philips was of Opinion to have the Declaration run, thus, *We conceive the Greatness and Power of the Duke of Buckingham, is the chief Cause of all these Evils.*

Sir John Elliot, Sir Edward Cook, and Mr. Selden, were for naming the Duke, positively, “ as the Cause of our Evils, for so, (said they) “ he had been already declared in the last “ Parliament; since when, the Causes are multiplied, and he hath deserved nothing better of the Commonwealth.

In Conclusion, June 13. They passed the following Resolution, *That the excessive Power of the Duke of Buckingham, is the Cause of the Evils and Dangers to the King and Kingdom; and that this be added to their Remonstrance.*

Mr. Selden last proposed, “ That to the excessive Power of the Duke, should be added, “ The Abuse of that Power; And since that “ Abuse be the Cause of these Evils; that “ it be presented to his Majesty, to consider, whether it be safe for the King and Commonwealth, That a Man of his Power should “ be so near his Majesty? And it was ordered accordingly: And a long Remonstrance being “ drawn up, was appointed to be presented to “ the King the next Day.

In order to which, the House of Commons sent a Message to his Majesty desiring Access to his Person, with the Remonstrance; and the Speaker desiring to be excused from delivering it, the House would not admit of any Excuse.

The same Day his Majesty sends a Message by Sir Humphry May, *That he intended to end the Session the 26th of June.* In the mean Time, the

the ensuing Order, concerning the Duke, was made in the Star-Chamber, upon the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, viz. " That
 " his Majesty of his own certain Knowledge,
 " as well as by other Proofs, being certified of
 " the Duke's Innocency, That all the Proceed-
 " ings in that Court be taken off the File.

June the 26th. The Speaker being sent for to the King at *Whitehall*, came not into the House till Nine o'Clock, at which time another Remonstrance concerning *Tonnage* and *Poundage* being ingrossed, was then reading in the House, the King sent for the Speaker, and the whole House, to attend him in the House of Peers, and ended the Session with a Speech to the Effect following.

" That he had received from the Com-
 " mons a Remonstrance, no ways acceptable
 " to him, relating to the Duke; and that
 " he was informed of a second Remonstrance
 " preparing, to take away his Profit of *Ton-
 " nage* and *Poundage*, which was one of the
 " chief Maintenance of his Crown; by their
 " alledging his Majesty had given away his
 " *Right* thereunto, by his Answer to their
 " *Petition of Right*; and therefore to prevent
 " receiving any other Remonstrance, to which
 " he must give a harsh Answer, he put an
 " end to the Session some few Hours before
 " he intended; and his Majesty observ'd fur-
 " ther, that he had no Design of intrench-
 " ing on the Liberties of his Subjects.

Then the Lord Keeper declared his Majesty's Pleasure, That the Parliament be prorogued to the 20th of *October* next.

And now again was equipp'd another Royal Navy for the Relief of *Rochelle*, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who being at *Portsmouth* in order to his Embarkation, and giving the necessary Orders, he was, on the 23d of *August*,* in his own Lodging, and fitting himself to wait on the King, called hastily for his Breakfast; his Servants attending the Sewer to bring in the Meat, the Duke came down Stairs from his upper Chamber, to eat in a lower Parlour, turning in at the foot of the Stairs in a narrow Entry, and Sir *Thomas Fryar*, one of his Colonels, following him to the Parlour Door, stooping to take his Leave, the Duke declining, embraced *Fryar*, with these Words, *Honest Tom*, and so turning into the Room, one *John Felton*, at that Instant shadowed behind them, stabbed him to the Heart with the back Blow of a Coustel Knife, which stuck in his Body till the Duke dragged it out, and so enlarged the Orifice, that it streamed with the Effusion of so much Blood and Spirit, that he instantly died, not able, (it seems) to utter a Syllable; and certainly no Soul there present, for he fell backward into the Parlour, and the *Assassine* fled: Nor could any Creature discern the Murderer, but by several Suspensions of those that were left last above with the Duke; and therefore some cried out upon *Sobiez* the *Frenchman*, *Fryar*; whilst *Felton* having no Power to fly far, uncertain what to do, step'd aside into the Kitchen, near at Hand; thither the Uproar and Search followed; some cried out, *where's the Villain?* *Felton*, mistaking the Words, for,
Here's

* Annals K. C. I.

Here's the Villain, suddenly started, and said, *I am he*; on which they seized him, and had much ado to preserve him from the Fury of the Servants, *Mr. Stamford*, the Duke's Follower, tilting at him with a Rapier, and would certainly have killed him, had not his Thrusts been prevented by others.

Many Messengers posted to Court with this unwelcome News, more hasty, than able, to satisfy the Particulars thereof; and as passionately the Courtiers posted to *Portsmouth*; There was one had Command to inquire of the Fact, to see the Man, and to search out somewhat to satisfy the King; and on producing his Warrant to the Governor, was admitted to the Prisoner, who was a little, * *Timber*, Meagre, Ghastly, frightful-fac'd Fellow, already clapt into a small Centry-House, upon the Guard, horribly laden with manacled Irons, neither able to sit, nor to lie down, but to be crippled against the Wall; with him, thus in private, and to sweeten his devilish Conditions, the Party pretended, that in Affection to some of his Friends he came of this Visit, to administer Comfort with his Prayers, the best Effects of Charity to him; but *Felton* answer'd, That he was not so ignorant to believe, that a Man in his Condition should be allowed such Comforts: But I rather receive you as an Examiner (said he) impowered to make Inquisition of me, and this Action of mine.

And after some Discourse, *Felton* told him he would frankly declare the Cause of his committing the said Fact, and proceeded as follows, *Sir*, (said he) *I shall be brief, I killed him*

* *Annals K. Ch. I.*

him for the Cause of God and my Country. Nay, (said the other) there may be hopes of his Life, the Surgeons say so; *It is impossible* (he replied) *I had the Force of forty Men, assisted by him that guided my Hand.* And being interrogated to several Questions, he made the following Answers, *That he was named John Felton, heretofore Lieutenant to a Foot Company under Sir James Ramsay: That he had endeavoured for a Commission to be Captain in this Expedition, and failed therein, but without any Regret upon the Duke, (from whom he had found Respect) nor for any private Interest whatsoever: That the late Remonstrance of Parliament, published the Duke so odious, that he appeared to him deserving Death, who, being so great, no Justice durst execute; That it was not many Days since he resolved to kill him, but finding the Duke so closely attended, resolved. That it should be his Business to pass as a Voluntier, and do it in this Voyage.*

He further said, he received great Encouragement to put in Execution his wicked Purpose, from a Sermon at St. Faith's Church, under St. Paul's, the Preacher spake in *Justification of every Man in a good Cause, to be Judge and Executioner of Sin*, which he interpreted to be him. That passing out of the Postern-Gate, upon Tower-hill, he espied that Fatal Knife in a Cutler's Glafs-Case, which he bought for Sixteen-pence; it was the Point end of a Cuff-Blade, struck into a Cross Haft, the whole length, Handle, and all, not twelve Inches, fastned to his Right Pocket, and from that Time he resolved therewith to stab him.

That some Days after, in order to put his
Resolution

Resolution in Practice, he followed the Train to *Portsmouth*, and coming by a Cross erected in the Highway, he sharpened the Point thereof upon the Stone, believing it a Place more proper, in Justice, to advantage his Design, than for the Idolatrous Intent it was first erected.

That he found continual Trouble and Disquiet in his Mind, until he should perform this Fact, and came to *Portsmouth* but that very Morning. That no Soul living was accessary with him, by any Ways or Means, of the Duke's Execution. That he was assured his Fact was justified, and that he was the Redeemer of the People's Sufferings, under the Power of the Duke's Usurpations, &c. And the Examiner observed, that the Paper tack'd in the Crown of his Hat, seem'd to satisfy his Conscience, and to justify his committing so barbarous and inhumane a Murder.

The destroying at one Blow, almost the Power of the Kingdom, which by his Titles you have heard enumerated, the Duke certainly possessed, must unavoidably cause a general Consternation, especially at Court; not only for the loss of so great a Favourite, who had like a Fortress impregnable, with the Assistance of his Royal Masters, withstood so many Attacks from so formidable an Enemy, as the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, but the Bodies of so many thousand Men ready to float to Sea without a Head; and the poor *Rochellers*, by an irresistible Famine waiting for Succours from *England*, which by this Accident came so late *,

and

* The Fleet set Sail for *Rochelle*, Sept. 8. under the Command of *Robert Earl of Lindsey*.

and then to so little Purpose, all the Avenues to the Town being so barricadoed, that there was no possibility of entering the Port; That out of 15000 Souls, not four Thousand were left alive, when the King of *France's* Troops entred the Town. I say this horrid Catastrophe, and the strangeness of the Fact, to have so great a Personage assassinated by so mean and obscure a hand, there were not wanting several who persuaded he should be put to the Rack; and hereupon the Judges were consulted of the Legality of such a Proceeding, who accordingly met at *Serjeants-Inn*, in *Chancery-Lane*, and did all agree, That he could not by our Law, be tortured with the Rack, for that no such Punishment is now allowed by our Law.

This is a strong Eviction of the Regard the Judges had to persevere in the Laws, as established, and not even to strain 'em in so extraordinary a Case, as the Murder of so great a Man, invested with such uncommon Power; It being certain, that no Punishment they could have inflicted, would have been adequate to the Crime; nay even some very remarkable Punishment ought to have attended so deliberate a Murderer, notwithstanding it had exceeded the common Course of Law, and a Proviso, as in Bills of Attainder, that it should not be made a Precedent; to deter for the future any Miscreant treading in the same Steps, or to dare take upon him to do Justice (as he called it) for the whole Kingdom. For notwithstanding the unprecedented Resentment against the Duke in the House of Commons,

in

in two several Parliaments, and which was chiefly caused by the ingrossing Offices almost numberless into his own, and Favourite's Hands; yet I cannot find he ever studied Cruelty as an Art, or often delighted in punishing those he had reason to be offended at, or was ever assiduous in packing a Parliament, as by his overgrown Power, undoubtedly he might have done with Success, by any private Instructions to his Dependants, which would have screen'd him from the Resentment of the People, and consequently, prevented a Majority in the House, which by the Debates, Speeches and Resolutions, plainly appear was always against him.

Nay, after the Advice of Sir *Robert Cotton*, for calling the Parliament in 1627, he himself advised, that those Gentlemen who had been confined a considerable Time in divers Prisons, for non-payment of Loans, &c. to the Number of Sixty, most of whom were qualified to serve their Country in Parliament, and some of them the most conspicuous in their Counties, should be set at Liberty, that they might offer again their Service, (without any Restraint from him) in that very next Parliament which he had Reason to believe would reassume their former Debates and Resolutions against him; and most of the said Members were returned in the ensuing Parliament.

But to return to the Funeral of the Duke: His Bowels were interr'd at *Portsmouth*, by his dear and only Sister, the Countess of *Denbigh*, and a handsome Memorial of him erected there; His Body was brought to *York House*, where it lay some Time in a Magnificent Manner upon a Hearse, and was afterwards sumptuously

sumptuously entombed at *Westminster*, in *St. Edward's Chapel*, without any such stir, as some Historians would infer, concerning his Funeral; for his Executors paid for all, and it cost not the King a Penny; and at their Cost, a Stately Monument was erected over his Grave to perpetuate his Memory.

As to that execrable Assassine, *Felton*, He was tried at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, found Guilty, executed at *Tyburn*, and hang'd in Chains, *Nov.* the 19th, following, against which Time, he was taught so much Charity to his own Soul, as, with Remorse, to acknowledge his Fact damnable, without God's Infinite Mercy; laying the Guilt directly upon the Parliament's Remonstrance, which was the immediate Motive to his Devilish Design.

And to shew what an ill Effect the said Remonstrance had, on the Minds of the People, one *Dr. Lamb*, who was supposed to be a Mion of the Duke's, and who in Derision was called *the Duke's Conjurer*, was publicly mobb'd to Death in the Streets of *London*, and no Enquiry made to find out the Authors of it; for which the Lord Mayor and Citizens had an Information brought against them in the Court of *King's-Bench*, by the Attorney-General, *Noy*, and were fined in 1500 Marks, which Fine was imposed by the Common, not Statute, Law. *

The

* *Wilson*, in his Life of King *James*, says, " That *Dr. Lamb*, a Man of an infamous Conversation (having been
" arraigned for a Witch, and found Guilty of it at *Worcester*;
" and arraigned for a Rape, and found Guilty of it at the

The sudden Catastrophe of this Great Favourite, did not prevent the Resolution taken by the Commons to pursue their Complaints of Grievances; for in the ensuing Parliament, which met pursuant to their Prorogation, *Jan.* the 20th. they reassumed their Debates on those Grievances which they apprehended the Duke had been the chief Cause of; which occasioned very warm Debates in the House, and Sir *John Elliot* named the Bishop of *Winton*, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, "In whose Person" (said he) all Evil is contracted. I find him "acting and building on those Grounds laid" by his Master, the Great Duke; and his "Spirit is moving to these Interruptions; and" they for fear, break Parliaments, lest Parliaments should break them." This Parliament, which was the last till the Year 1640, was but short-liv'd, being adjourned to the 25th of *February*, and then to the 2d of *March*, at which Time a Disturbance happened in the House occasioned by the Speaker's refusing to put the Question then proposed, saying, he was commanded to the contrary by his Majesty: Upon which they forcibly held him in the Chair, till a Protestation, drawn by Sir *John Elliot*, was read; for which several of the Members were committed to the Tower, and afterwards prosecuted in the Star Chamber.

His Majesty, who exactly followed his Father's

"King's Bench-Bar at *Westminster*, yet escaped the Strokes
 "of Justice for both, by his Favour in Court) was much
 "employed by the Mother, and the Son, which generally
 "the People took notice of, and were so incensed against
 "*Lamb*, that finding him in the Streets of *London*, in the
 "Year 1628, they rose against him, and with Stones and
 "Staves, knock'd out his Brains.

ther's Steps, as well as the Principles instilled into him by the Duke, and whose hereditary Affections towards him much exceeded those of his Royal Father, could not bear his Prerogative Royal to be called in question, or his deceas'd Favourite's Advice censured, came to the House of Lords *March* the 10th 1628. and without sending for the Commons, dissolv'd the Parliament, and published a Declaration of the Cause, his Majesty being so disgusted with Parliaments, that he declared he would call no more; and indeed there was no other called till the Exigency of his Affairs rendered it absolutely necessary to provide Supplies against the *Scots* Invasion, as well as to attempt healing the additional Grievances, which twelve Years disuse of Parliaments had caused; which Cessation had only added Fuel to the Flame, and broke out in the Year 1641, and ended in the Destruction of Church and Monarchy, which might have been prevented, had not his Majesty trod so close in the Steps of his Father, and carried his Prerogative to such an unlimited Height, to be above the Advice of his People, especially in the Protection of his Favourites: That he was Deaf to the Complaints of any, who even in a Parliamentary way, took upon them, to complain of their Conduct, and which was the chief Cause of the Dissolution of so many Parliaments which produc'd Effects as unhappy as have been observed.



F I N I S.

